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L.—A LETTER FROM NEAR FORT POPHAM.

SMALL POINT, NEAR FORT POPHAM,  
August 30, 1867.

EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE :

Looking down, this bright morning, from the summit of Mount Morse (so-called), which, though comparatively high ground, is hardly entitled to the name of "mountain," the ancient province of "Sabino" was spread before me like a map. I had with me, as guide and interpreter, one of the "oldest inhabitants," familiar with the region from childhood, intelligent and well informed respecting its history and archæology. We could see the rising structure of the new fort, and the green slope of Horsecatch Point, where the remains of the primitive Colony are found. The general name of the little peninsula, or presqueisle, which is claimed to be the seat of the earliest New England settlement, is "Hunniwell's Point." We could distinguish the country people, in their holiday clothes, wending their way thither, crossing arms of the sea in boats, and picking their steps over the marshes; but the assembled wisdom of The Maine Historical Society was nowhere visible. The twenty-ninth instant was the appointed time of their meeting, and the commemoration, which could not then take place on account of the rain, was expected to be observed on the first fair day.

Finding that our anticipations, and those of the scanty population of the neighborhood, were doomed to disappointment, I contented myself with a study of the geographical features of the scene, and the relation of these outlying, and almost insulated, patches of rock to the mainland.

Fort Popham is entirely surrounded by water in high tides; and the owner of the intervening marsh has contemplated making a permanent water communication through it for the passage of gondolas (gundalows) and floating timber. By this boggy marsh the fort is connected with another piece of rocky land which hangs by a slender neck to the township of Phipsburg. This township itself hangs by a slender neck to the township of Bath; and Bath hangs by a slender

neck to the mainland. There is a tradition that the water formerly flowed between Bath and Topsham and New Brunswick; and a canal has existed across the sandy marsh, once doubtless the bed of the sea, which the quicksands have now destroyed.

One might suppose that so much "hanging by a neck" would have suggested unpleasant associations among convict Colonists who had barely escaped a similar condition in their own persons. There was, however, a present security in occupying places easily defended, which probably influenced their choice of a site for habitation.

The region here consists of an archipelago of rocky knolls, separated from one another by arms of the ocean and salt marshes, and projecting about twenty miles from the mainland proper. The sandy basis of the marshes is thought to indicate that soil and vegetation have gradually accumulated where the sea once had full possession, rather than that the marshes have resulted from the erosion of harder soil above them.

In the July number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the President of the Maine Society enunciates two propositions. The first is, "that one of the material attributes of Truth is sharpness, and that when coming in contact with Error its pungency should be felt." The other, that it is among "the first principles of National and International Law," that "any action on any island is entirely irrelevant" to the question of possession of the mainland of New England, "as much so as if it were situated on the coast of England or France."

I have no objection to the pungency of Truth. The second proposition, however, if a truth, appears to need elucidation, and perhaps qualification. "Suppose," he says, "that De Monts did occupy Neutral Island, and continued to occupy it year after year: that his Company planted grain, built houses, erected a fort, and also a Church for the worship of God, what had all this to do with the shore or mainland?" "Or suppose that George Popham, Gosnold, Weymouth, or any English navigator, on the Elizabeth Islands, George's Island, Boon Island, or the Isle of Shoals, had done the same things under British authority; or suppose, as at Sa-



"bino, or either of those Islands, they had built fifty houses, a stone house, a strong fortification, a pinnacle, and also a chapel for the worship of God, and at the beginning proclaimed the laws of England for the government of the people—under what law, or what theory of right, could such action have been made to attach to the mainland or shores of New England?"

The statement of the learned President, and equally learned Judge, is a broad one. His words are "any island;" and he declares that "the possession of an island never draws with it the shore: but by the comity of nations the converse of the position is so far admitted that the shore draws to it the adjacent islands."

It is to be regretted that the exact meaning of the phrase "any island," as used in this important dictum, was not more clearly defined. Judge Sullivan, whose specialty was "Land Titles," supposed the Popham settlement to have been on Parker's Island, and says: "Upon this island the Europeans who first colonized to New England made their landing. Virginia was planted in the year 1606, but the Colony of Parker's Island, which has since been called Sagadahoc, was but one year behind her. Had the leaders of this little Colony survived the severity of the winter next after their landing, Plymouth might have been deprived of the honor of being the mother of New England." It is plain that he did not regard the fact that the colonists were on an island as affecting the validity of their claims to a prior settlement of the country if they had only remained long enough. This was the common impression during all the period when the Popham attempt at settlement was believed to have been on an island.

What kind of island would satisfy the conditions of Judge Bourne's *obiter dictum*? Is it enough to say that any land entirely surrounded by water is such an island? That definition would include Cape Ann and Boston, taking into account the creeks that once completed the circuit of the waters. At all events, it would include the original "Rhode Island," as distinguished from "The Providence Plantations." Is not something more required to fulfil the necessary insular conditions? Must there not be a considerable distance from the shore, and a decided independence of it? And are not the legal principles governing the possession of islands as incident to the possession of the shore also applicable to the converse of the proposition? I think Chancellor Kent considered that all islands necessary or convenient for purposes connected with revenue or defence were to be regarded as part of the main land; and by way of illustration referred to the islands within a line drawn from Cape Cod to Nantucket, and thence to Montauk Point, as constituting part of

the continent. It is probable that he would have held that a discoverer who had followed the coast of a new country for many degrees, landing here and there, and giving permanent names to prominent points, and, finally, building, for security's sake, on a piece of land detached from the shore, did not fail to take possession of the country because the location he fortified happened to be surrounded by water. If the declaration of your correspondent is correct, then an occupation of Long Island, or Staten Island, or Manhattan, or all of them, however protracted, by discoverers and colonists, would give them no more possession or title to these western shores than if those islands were "situated on the coast of England or France." There is evidently something wrong here, in principle or in statement, and the learned lawyer's declaration apparently needs to be amended.

It seems reasonable to presume that an island, so situated in regard to the shore as to form a part of its configuration, commanding it and being commanded by it, is politically identical with it, and logically and legally a part of the continent, as fully as if the island were in an interior lake. It is claimed by legal authorities that the basis of law is common sense; and certainly International Law has no other criterion or sanction, as it consists of the opinions of publicists founded upon the reasonableness of things, and commended by their good sense to the general understanding of mankind.

The little string of islands called Elizabeth Islands, in the shallow waters of Vineyard Sound, constitutes the eastern boundary of Buzzard's Bay, an important harbor for vessels of light draft. It is, as the map shows, part of a cape or promontory, projecting from the town of Falmouth, which has been cut up and divided by the action of the waves. If the isles and presques-isles of Sagadahoc have any advantage over these detached fragments of soil as parts of the continent, in a political sense, or according to the principles of International Law, then a natural or artificial creek, or the division of a stream, may carve the face of a country into numberless naturally distinct dominions. For an arm of the sea is no more a natural boundary than a river, or a range of mountains; and are not these minor features always disregarded in determining the right of possession to a newly-discovered country?

The Popham claims, to whose support The Maine Historical Society has had the misfortune to be committed by a portion of its members, seem to me to be dependent upon an undue magnifying of minor and unimportant considerations, while under-estimating others of a higher character and greater consequence. The simple statement of the historian, that "the President's commission was read, with the laws to be observed



"and kept"—that is, their own Company regulations—is magnified into a Proclamation of "the Laws of England," as if it were part of a ceremonial procedure for taking possession of the country as representatives of England's sovereignty. The acting Chaplain of the Company, who, by the calculations, intended to display his possible high connections, is proved to have been little more than a boy, is always referred to with studied respect as "the Reverend Richard Seymour," a dignitary of the Church of England, an exercise of the imagination suggested by a very small basis of fact. The cabin where they met for religious services becomes a *Church*. Every hut is of course a *house*, and the rude encampment is a *village*. I have heard it mentioned as probable that the *streets* were *paved*, because flagging stones, apparently laid together, have been found in the earth where the encampment stood. As some leaden weights were disinterred at the same place, why not presume that the *Market House* was erected on that spot, while the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace could not have been far distant? This tendency to exaggeration, a disposition to swell beyond the limits of a legitimate idealization, somewhat characterizes the proceedings recorded in the famous "Memorial Volume."

It would, perhaps, be wiser for the Society to drop the unsound and the unsavory points involved in their original pretensions, and to fall back upon the more modest and rational views of their former President, Mr. Willis. They have preferred, under the elation of a combative impulse, to be aggressive in matter and manner, and stand ready to do battle for the merits of their cause, without abatement or qualification, against all comers, after the fashion of a dogged knight of old, asserting the superior charms of an ideal mistress.

It was not a bad joke, to begin with, that such a jubilation should have been held over the advent of a penal colony to the shores of Maine. But the jest grew serious when it was attempted to trace to that circumstance the beginning of New England civilization, and the establishment of title to the country. A sentiment bordering upon indignation was naturally excited among persons who do not fancy such a national origin. It was a little as if The Historical Society of Botany Bay, now the seat of a respectable and flourishing community, should be seized with an insane desire to commemorate the twentieth of January, 1788, the date of the landing of Captain Phillip and his company of felons in that country, before unoccupied by white men; and to perpetuate the memory of that event as the glorious beginning of civilization on their continent. Like Popham, Captain Phillip carried with him a commission as Governor or President, which, after the landing, was doubtless read to the convicts, together with

the rules to which they were expected to submit. Probably religious services were had, and an organization commenced by assigning officers, previously selected, to their proper duties. Like the Popham colony, these "illustrious" men abandoned the place they had chosen for a habitation; but, instead of leaving the country, only removed to a more favorable location, and really secured to England the possession of the continent of New Holland. Unlike their prototypes in Maine, the Australian Society might not find among the Judges who promoted this original settlement one sufficiently prominent to be made the hero of the occasion; but then the historical claims of the celebration in general could be more satisfactorily maintained; if that could be called satisfactory which we should expect to find distasteful to the honester emigrants of a later period.

If the name of the fort, whose cannon are destined to repel the invader from the Kennebec, should at some future time be written Pop'em, instead of Popham, that appellation would suggest unpleasant reflections only to a foe within range of the guns. There would still remain a historical crime to be atoned for by removing the erroneous inscription which United States officers heedlessly permitted to be attached to the walls.

H.

## II.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

COMMUNICATED BY HIS GRANDSON, PROFESSOR GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, OF EAST GREENWICH, R. I.\*

### 1.—FROM DAVID HUMPHREYS.

NEW HAVEN 10<sup>th</sup> April 1780.

DEAR SIR

The ill-state of health which has presented our old friend the General (with whom I had the honor of serving) from returning to Camp; has likewise subjected me, to a state of *inactivity* and *rustication* for several months past; this, I should have little reason to regret from the manner in which I have spent the time, during the inactive season of the year: but the idea of its being protracted into the active parts of the Campaign, might be rather irksome & disagreeable. However I shall not make myself, or friends anxious about my situation, for if my Country should have no farther occasion for my services, I shall be perfectly will-

\* Our readers will be glad to learn that our friend, Professor Greene, has acceded to our invitation to make this work the medium of publication of some of the most important papers of his distinguished grandfather; and in those which are now presented they have the first instalment.—ED. HIST. MAG.



ing to retire, if otherwise I make no doubt of being permitted to serve it, in such a manner as will be most conducive to the public good; which is the utmost limit of my ambition—

In the interim, whilst I am amusing myself with subjects of Literature & Belle Lettres; I have presumed, upon the knowledge of your fondness for Letters, to trouble you with a small specimen of my attempts in Poetry—The Elegy on the burning of Fairfield, which is herewith transmitted was suggested (not inspired according to poetic custom), by a view of the ruins of that once beautiful Town; and was written to indulge, a pleasing kind of melancholly, and while away a vacant hour the other morning—Should it afford you a moments Amusement, it will be an additional gratification—And indeed, since I have proceeded so far in confessing my weaknesses; I may as well go on to acknowledge, some other of my poetical sins, & in the true style of a Penitent confess, that being instigated by the Devil & a certain Jere Wadsworth, I have some time since written & consented to publish a Peice in verse, Addressed to the Army, on the Subject of the present War, the prospects before us, And the future felicity, grandeur population & glory of the Country for which we are now contending—When the afores'd Poem makes its appearance, a Copy of it will not fail of waiting upon you with the writers sincerest respects; unless you should have a surfeit of the enclosure; which being duly notified, will preclude any future efforts of presumption & vanity from the same quarter.

Now what could induce me to turn Scribbler, whether my own Sins, or those of my Parents (as Pope says) must be left to farther discussion; tho I rather imagine the mischief, like a thousand others, will be found, to have originated, in a great measure, from keeping ill Company; such as the beforementioned Colo Wadsworth, a certain Mr Trumbull, a Mr Dwight, a Doct<sup>r</sup> Styles, & some other similar Characters, of smaller notoriety—These men are enough to corrupt half the youth of the State, and introduce them to the same evil practices—For instance, there is a hopeful Genius, of their fostering & cultivation in this Town, who is so far gone in Poetry, that there is no hope of reclaiming, & making him attentive to any thing else—to be more serious about the matter—The person intended, is a young Gentleman by the name of Barlow; who I could wish was introduced to your notice—He is certainly a very great Genius, and has undertaken a work, which I am persuaded, will do honor to himself, & his Country, if he is enabled to prosecute it, in the manner he has proposed—It is entitled the Vision of Columbus, and in the course of the Poem will bring into view, upon a large scale, all the great events that have, or will take place on the Continent: from a sight of the first

Book which he has nearly finish'd, I have conceived an exceeding high idea of the performance—But the difficulty is, it will be a labour of three years at least; And his patrimony which consisted in Continental Bills, is by no means sufficient to support him—However a number of Gentlemen have undertaken to patronize him, and I hope will not relinquish the plan on account of the expence—Should they, he proposes to set out for the Southward & see what encouragement he can obtain there—

My friend Trumbull is in Town & informs me, he has had the pleasure of receiving a Letter from you; to which he wrote an answer by an Officer, who has not yet gone to Camp; And therefore he presumes it will reach you, in a very depreciated state, which depreciation, he engages to make good, provided it is not more than forty for one—I shall spend next week with him at Westbury, & will put him often in mind of his promise—I have just Rec'd a Line from Maj<sup>r</sup> Putnam, who acquaints me, that the General is better & proposes making a visit to Camp in May—

I am with great respect & esteem your most Obed<sup>t</sup> & very Hble Servant

DAVID HUMPHRYS.

[Addressed. To MAJOR GENERAL GREENE  
Head Quarters]

## 2.—FROM DAVID HUMPHRYS.

HARTFORD May 23<sup>d</sup> 1780

I will not undertake to describe to you, My Dear Sir, the pleasing and even exquisite Sensations which your most obliging Letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> occasioned—It would indeed be an effort of more magnanimity than I am possessed of, and a Sacrifice of more value than I can possibly afford to suppress all the agreeable feelings which are excited by the approbation (I should say) the too favourable opinion, and partial commendation, of such a character as General Greene. That this is fully sufficient to make any mortal under my circumstances insufferably vain for his whole life must also be confessed, & shall be my only apology in future—For I can never induce myself to believe, that the man who writes so exceedingly well himself, can have but an indifferent taste, and be an ill judge of the writings of others; And I confess I am very far from imagining that a person of so much candor and liberality would wish to abuse one, at such a remove from him in every point of view, by making him believe he was much better esteemed and regarded, than he is in reality—

However diffident I may formerly have been of my own productions, I assure you I find myself in danger after all that has been said, of having my vanity get the ascendancy over my judgment, for I am now taking the liberty you was pleased to give me of exposing myself still farther, by



presenting you with a Copy of the Address to the Army which I mentioned in my last: All that I could presume to say in its favour, you will find recorded (as the Parsons say by way of introduction) in the Advertisement prefixed to the Poem. So far as an honest intention, and a zeal for my country can be urged an excuse for indifferent Poetry, I am determined to claim the indulgence of the Public in general, and the patronage of my friends in particular—But pray dont you think I have been guilty of an instance of impertinence, if nothing worse, by addressing a Copy of it to his Excellency the Commander in Chief without his permission or knowledge? I cannot but feel myself under very great obligations to you, for the generous Concern you are pleased to take in Mr. Barlow's affairs—There is one way in which I think he might be serv'd effectually, and that in a manner reputable to himself & beneficial to the Public. I mean by having him appointed a Chaplain to some vacant Brigade: for tho' he is not in orders at present, he would I am well assured, from his character and some other circumstances, qualify himself for the office immediately, accept the appointment with cheerfulness, perform the duty with dignity, and have leisure enough to prosecute his favourite pursuits.—The Rhode Island & 4<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Brigades I am informed are vacant—

We are this moment made happy by the arrival of the News from your quarter that a french fleet will be on the Coast in a few days; this, with many other things will induce me probably, to accept of the kind offer of coming into your family, in the manner you propose; for which & every other instance of your friendship, you will ever receive my most grateful acknowledgements—I am this day setting out to pay a visit to my venerable and honest friend General Putnam—Shall stay but a short time with him, as I wish to be present at more active and important scenes, tho' I know it will be with reluctance that we shall part with each other—

I am with great respect & esteem

Your most oblig'd & Hble serv't

D HUMPHRYS

G'N GREENE

[Addressed. MAJOR GENERAL GREENE Q MG  
Head Quarters]

### 3.—FROM DAVID HUMPHRYS.

NEW HAVEN May 30<sup>th</sup> 1780.

DEAR SIR

I beg pardon for troubling you with another Letter upon the back of my last; and scarcely know of any better excuse for it, than the invincible propensity I have to write to, and about the objects of which I am thinking, continually: did not your candor & liberality of sentiment and be-

haviour inspire me with almost unbounded confidence in your friendship, I should not have written with the same freedom I have already done.—And indeed I can hardly tell, what it is except this, which now prompts me to unbosom myself with so little reserve. I wish however it may not rather be considered as an argument of my presumption than a proff of my attachment & sincere affection.

The present moment, which is certainly big with great events; appears to me to be the most important as well as the most critical one, that has ever happened since the commencement of the war.—On the one hand, every prospect from abroad looks exceedingly favourable.—And every thing, except what depends on ourselves, & our own exertions, wears the most flattering aspect—On the other the ill state of our finances, the total want of credit, the impracticability of calling forth the resources of the Country in the ordinary mode, the stupidity & negligence of the people at large to their own interest, the knavery of some, and the want of ability in others, who are concerned in the administration of public affairs, and especially the unbounded, uncontrollable spirit of dissipation, licentiousness, & avarice, which predominates thro every rank and order of men, so far as they have any opportunity for its gratification; afford the most gloomy presage of what the event would be, if Providence should only leave us to ourselves or (as they commonly say) to our own destruction.—In the midst of this embarras'd & distressing state of affairs, when we can neither assemble any considerable force; or support and keep together the shattered remains of the Army now in the field, for want of supplies, while the disposition of the Country is so unfavourable to every exertion: it seems to me that the certain prospect, of the immediate arrival of a formidable land and naval armament to co-operate with us, can serve only to augment and increase the perplexity and embarrassment.—

Heaven be thanked I am not a General, and never shall be, for my own sake!—for that of the Public 'tis most auspicious that they who have the management of our military affairs, have more ability, fortitude, perseverance and integrity than ever mortals had before.—You will pardon me for the boldness of the assertion, and allow this to be the case, with our glorious Commander in Chief, tho you may have more diffidence, and less justice, than posterity will inevitably have, in coupling your name with his—Good God! what must the feelings of that great & good man be, to find himself so ill seconded by his Country at such a crisis!

As to the plan of operations for the Campaign, I suppose it is determin'd upon before this time, and that it will be difficult, if not disgraceful to recede from the measures concerted in conjunction



with our allies—so that I presume all that is now necessary, is for the Country to be roused from its lethargy, to make those great efforts, of which we all believe it is capable—for my own part, to assist in effecting so important a purpose, I could wish to be invested with power, not inferior to be sure, to that which Milton bestows upon his Devils, to tear up Mountains by the roots, or wield some of these elements; at least I should want, for a little while, to be possessed of a voice of thunder, so that I might stand some chance to awaken those, who I fear nothing will except the last Trumpet.—

Ap[ro]pos of the last Trumpet—You have undoubtedly heard of the dark day with us. the speculations on it were curious, and would, I dare say, be amusing to you, but time would fail me to innumerate them—Many who apprehended the last day was at hand, began to think of repenting. Other turn'd out as Volunteers to preach, and pray, and prophesy, and help their neighbours out at a dead lift—It is said the Assembly broke up not without some precipitation & indications of terror, that they might be sent for before they were quite ready, or had got their business in such forwardness, as that they could possibly leave it—Amongst the rest, there was a certain fat old Gentleman, known by the name of Col<sup>o</sup> Deavenport, who having wrapped himself up in his corpulency and integrity, behaved with very great composure & firmness: observing, “that it was best for the “Sheriff to order Candles, that they might go on “with their business, that if they might be called “for, they might be found in the way of their “duty”—But I imagine the greater part of the Multitude, begun to think, that the Prince of the Regions of darkness, who is sometimes styled, the Prince of the Power of the air, was about uniting both his kingdoms into one, in the same manner as England & Scotland were formerly incorporated—And altho they had been his most faithful adherents & humble Servants, (as it was well known, that like other Monarchs, he was rather apt to be ungrateful to his best friends & benefactors) they were not without fear that it might be a dark day with them in more senses than one, 'tho they could not be under any apprehensions of being treated as Rebels, as being conscious they never had forfeited their allegiance & fidelity to his infernal Majesty—

I have just return'd from my visit to General Putnam, & left him in good spirits, & very cleverly in every respect, but his lameness—I have a Letter from him, to you, which I hope to have the honor of delivering with my own hand, soon after the arrival of this—

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
D HUMPHREYS—

### III.—A MEMOIR OF THE PINCKNEY FAMILY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

DRAWN FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS, AND COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS, LL.D., OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Thomas Pinckney, the grandfather of the Generals Pinckney, was the first of the name in Carolina. He came over in the year 1692. His wife was Mary, daughter of Charles Cotesworth; and his three sons were Thomas (who died young), Charles, commonly known as Chief-justice Pinckney, and William.

Thomas Pinckney was a man of independent fortune and resided on the Bay, in a house which afterward belonged to General T. Pinckney.

An anecdote is told of him that, looking out on the Bay, which was not then disfigured by wharves or long rows of storehouses, he observed a vessel, just arrived from the West Indies, landing her passengers; and as they walked up the street, he was particularly attracted by the appearance of a very handsome stranger, gaily dressed, and turning to his wife, remarked: “That handsome “West Indian will marry some poor fellow's “widow, break her heart, and ruin her children.” His words were in part prophetic, for, dying shortly after, his widow married the gay West Indian, George Evans; and though he did not break her heart, as she lived to marry a third husband, he often gave her the heart-ache by his extravagance, and squandered the patrimony of her children. A sufficiency, however, was saved, to enable them to have liberal educations.

Chief-justice Pinckney was educated in England, and married there Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Lamb, of Devonshire Square, London. He returned to Carolina and practiced law, was made Chief Justice of the Province, and King's Counsellor. Having made an ample fortune by his profession, as is seen by the rent-roll, in his own handwriting, and having been many years married without children, he took his brother William's eldest son, Charles, to live with him, intending to make him his heir.

In the year 1743, Eliza Lucas, daughter of George Lucas, a Colonel in the British army, and Governor of Antigua, came shortly after her arrival from England on a tour of pleasure with some friends to Carolina. The young stranger attracted universal attention; but by none was she more admired than by the wife of Chief-justice Pinckney, who declared that, rather than Miss Lucas should return to Antigua, she would herself step out of the way and let her take her place; which kind intention she actually executed the following year, and at no distant time Chief-justice Pinckney married the lady his wife was so solicitous should succeed her.



Eliza Lucas had been sent very young to England for her education, her father having a great dislike to the manner in which the ladies of the West Indies were educated. Passing a great part of their time in needle-work, their minds were consequently vacant and uninformed. He had a great aversion to the sight of a needle, and used to say he never saw women at work but he imagined they were plotting mischief. So ungallant a supposition would not have been adverted to by one of his descendants but to show that it was partly owing to this circumstance that the fine mind of his daughter was so highly cultivated. In compliance with her father's wishes, she never engaged in any of the feminine accomplishments of the needle, but spent the greatest part of her time in reading, and as there were no Reviews in those days to save the labor of thinking, to be well informed it was necessary to read deeply and think for oneself. She had no knowledge of Latin except the Latin Grammar, which she had learnt as a foundation for Grammar in general; but she was well versed in the French language and its literature, and spoke it correctly and fluently. She had been taught music, as it was an accomplishment as indispensable at that day as it is now; but as she did not possess the organ of tune, she was not a proficient in it, and amused herself in gardening, planting out trees, and agriculture. It was from her experiments in tropical fruits and plants that Carolina was indebted for one of its staples, in 1748.

She was eminently pious, strongly attached to her own Church (that of England), but her understanding made her tolerant of others. She did not consider religion as distinct from morality, but as it was the source of her motives it influenced all her actions. Had she lived at a period when "benevolent societies," and all the other philanthropic societies were the fashion, she would not have supposed that a strict attention to these and the mere outward forms of religion would have entitled her to the name of Christian, had she not exhibited the fruits of Christianity by her self-control, forgetfulness of self, charity toward others, and humility of deportment. No spurious Christianity found favor in her sight. She was a constant attendant on church, and she at stated times gave a public testimony of her having embraced the faith of Christ by partaking of the Eucharist, but she did not commune every month. She always obliged the young people of her family to recollect the text of the sermon they had heard at church, and search for it in the Bible as soon as they came home, when she explained to them those parts they did not understand or had forgotten. She also made them learn by heart the Collect for the day, which they considered a great task; but she never imposed on them a Jewish Sabbath. Addison's beautiful hymn on Gratitude,

"When all thy mercies, oh my God,  
"My rising soul surveys,"

was a great favorite of hers, and she used frequently to make them repeat it, dwelling on those lines:

"Nor is the least a cheerful heart,  
"That tastes those gifts with joy."

She did not believe that a moderate participation in the recreations and amusements of civilized society was contrary to the precepts or spirit of the Gospel, that the relinquishing the ball-room or the drama, was a proof of the spirituality of any one's state; or that there were more dangers to be resisted than amidst the temptations, business scenes and every-day trials of life. She always spoke with pleasure of the gaieties in which she had participated during her second visit to England; of the celebrated actors and actresses she had seen; and that she had never missed a single day when Garrick was to act.

Respected, admired, at the head of society in Carolina, all that she thought and said and did was right; but this generation is wise in its own conceit, and Eliza Lucas, with all her acquisitions and virtues and unaffected piety, might now be regarded as a light not sufficiently bright for the illumination of the times.

The happiness of Chief-justice Pinckney was completed by the birth of a son, which put an end to the hopes of his nephew Charles; but though it put an end to his hopes it did not diminish his affection for his uncle, or his love for his young cousin, whom he always treated as a younger brother. Nor did his uncle remit his care and attention to him. He continued to live with him, he educated him for the law, and sent him to England for five years, for the completion of his education. The Generals Pinckney and their sister were accustomed to speak of him with great affection, always designating him by the title of "My Cousin." He was the father of Charles Pinckney, one of the framers of the Constitution.

Chief-justice Pinckney had four children, Charles Cotesworth, born on the twenty-fifth of February, 1746; George Lucas, who, his father said, died of a clean room, his nurse choosing to perform her ablutions in it when he was only a fortnight old; Harriett, afterward Mrs. Horry; and Thomas, born on the twenty-second of October, 1750.

It may be imagined that a child so ardently wished for as was General Pinckney, would not only have every care and attention bestowed on him, but unremitted pains taken with him. Accordingly, he knew all his letters before he could speak—that is, if the letter was named and he was asked to point it out, he immediately put his finger on it—but he never in after life approved of such precocious accomplishments, and used to



dissuade all those over whom he had any influence from the premature instruction of their children saying that from an over-anxiety to make him a clever fellow, he had run the risk of being a very stupid one.

Of that firmness of character which he exhibited through life he gave a specimen when only three years old, in suffering himself to be whipped rather than betray a little companion. Of his strict regard for truth, several anecdotes are told of him before he was seven years old, at which age his father carried him to England with his mother, sister and brother, then three years old, in the year 1753. Upon his going to England, Chief-justice Pinckney rented what he called his "Mansion House," on the Bay, to Mr. Glen, who was then Governor; and from that time, and during the minority of his son, it was the residence of all the Governors of the Province.

Chief-justice Pinckney resided, when he was not in London, at a house he purchased in Surrey, called Ripley. On account of the war between France and England, he returned with his wife and daughter to Carolina in 1758, leaving his two sons at Westminster school, the one twelve and the other eight years old. He was taken ill immediately on his coming home, and died in a short time, leaving directions that his sons should have the most liberal education, and if, from the uncertainty of crops, the income should be inadequate, part of his estate should be sold, always reserving Pinckney Island.

General Pinckney had a most exalted opinion of his father, not from his recollection, for he was only twelve years old when he last saw him, but from the reflections and notes in his own handwriting, that he found dispersed through his books. Those books are no longer in being. At the commencement of the war between England and the Colonies, the greatest part of the library, papers of consequence, and everything that was valuable in the family, were sent to Ashpoo, to a place belonging to General Tom Pinckney, supposing it to be sufficiently remote to be out of danger; but the house was at length burnt, with everything in it except what had been plundered and carried off. The only memorial, therefore, of Chief-justice Pinckney is his last will, which, in the language of one fully competent to judge, "will be read with delight by the patriot, the philanthropist, the parent and the Christian."

Such was the fascination of his manner, as described by his wife, the moment his footstep was heard before he entered the drawing-room, every eye glistened with expectation and pleasure. He was idolized by her, and a nervous illness of many months followed her bereavement; but she at length remembered she was a mother, and roused herself to direct the education of her absent sons and devote herself to that of her daughter;

and never was there a daughter that more fully repaid the thousand cares bestowed on her. She was everything that the fondest parent could hope or desire. Nor were her anxieties for her sons unrewarded. She was constantly informed of the progress they were making in classical attainments. The strict discipline of Westminster could not fail to bring forth every intellectual power. She had herself planted the seeds of religion and virtue in their hearts, and the friend, Mrs. Evans, under whose guardianship they were placed, did not spoil them. The penances she sometimes prescribed were rather uncommon. One that she imposed on General Pinckney he never forgot. She obliged him to sit down and unpick a quilted silk petticoat, which gave him as great an aversion to a pin as his grandfather had to a needle. There was also another friend who interested himself for them. George Keate, a literary man of fine taste, author of the *Pelew Islands*. Of this gentleman their mother thus writes to her eldest son: "Had 'there been anything wanting to convince me of 'his friendship and kind remembrance of your 'dear father, the trouble he has taken, his so 'kindly interesting himself in those most dear to 'me, and his last long and friendly letter, would 'be a sufficient proof."

The Generals Pinckney passed regularly through Westminster school with great honor to themselves, not only on account of their classical acquirements, but also for the strictness of their principles. The elder brother, in accordance with his seniority, preceded the younger by four years at college. General Pinckney entered Christ Church College, Oxford, and had for his private tutor, Cyril Jackson, a man of profound learning, who was afterward the Dean of Christ Church.

At Oxford he pursued his studies with great zeal, and quitted it at the age of eighteen, with the reputation of an accomplished scholar. This was an early age to leave college in England; but he had been qualified to enter it sooner than young men in general, from his assiduity while at Westminster.

From Oxford he entered the Society of the Middle Temple, and here also he was indefatigable in studying, as may be seen by the following letter from his mother:

"I am alarmed, my dear child, by an account "of your being extremely thin, it is said owing "to intense study, and I apprehend your constitution may be hurt, which affects me very "much, conscious as I am how much and how "often I have urged you from your childhood, "to a close application to your studies. But how "short-sighted are poor mortals! Should I, by "over-solicitude for your passing through life "with every advantage, have been the means of "injuring your constitution, and depriving you



"of that invaluable blessing, health, how shall I answer to myself the hurting a child so truly dear to me, and deservedly so, and who has lived to near twenty-three years of age without having once offended me. Let me beg of you, my dear Charles, for my sake as well as your own, and that of your near connexions, to take care of yourself, and consider how small will be the advantage of learning, where health is wanting."

General Pinckney spent the last year he remained in Europe at the Royal Military Academy at Caen, Normandy, and in travelling on the Continent.

His brother pursued the same course of studies. A severe illness when at Oxford obliged him to suspend them, and a letter from his mother shows not only her anxiety for his health, but also for the suspension of his collegiate course.

"It was with extreme concern, my dear child, that I heard of your illness, though I was very apprehensive of it from your long silence, not having heard from you since the arrival of your brother, until your letter by Lady Mary Ainslie, [*afterward Lady Mary Middleton*]. Of the expediency of your going to France you may be sure I approve, as it was necessary for your health, and you had the approbation of my good friends on your side of the water, though I cannot help regretting that necessity, particularly at this time, as it must take you from your studies, and six months loss of application now must be of consequence. As you are in France you may perhaps be inclined to see more of the Continent; but I hope you will not think of gratifying that inclination at present. I therefore beg of you, my dear child, to return to Oxford as soon as your health will permit, and apply closely to your studies."

General Pinckney, after his visit to the Continent, was admitted to the bar in 1769, and returned home the same year, his mother having previously requested him to choose a good ship and commander, but not to inform her of either, or exactly the time of his leaving England, as her ignorance would prevent her much anxiety. General Thomas Pinckney completed his collegiate education, studied at the Temple, and returned home in 1772, the elder brother having been sixteen, and the younger nineteen years absent from their mother, who always declared that her sons were a living contradiction to the opinion that the affection of children was weakened by absence, and well was she rewarded for the sacrifice she had made for their advantage, for her every wish was a command to her sons.

As General Pinckney was seven years old when he went to England, he had some recollection of his country. He remembered the pleasure with

which his father had pointed out to him the first wagon that had arrived in Charleston from the interior, saying, "Charles, by the time you are a man, I don't doubt there will be at least twenty wagons come to town;" and when in after-life he met in travelling a long line of wagons, he would remark: "How happy my father would have been in the growth and prosperity of Carolina;" and notwithstanding their long absence from the soil, never had she two sons more devoted to her than were the Generals Pinckney. They had participated in all the indignation felt at home at the passing of the Stamp Act. A portrait taken soon after, for his friend Sir Mathew Ridley, represents him as arguing vehemently upon that arbitrary Act.

The brothers returned to their country with all the ardor of young men ready to promote her best interests and die in her cause. The sentiments of General Pinckney are expressed in the following extracts, written after the capitulation of Charleston, in 1780. To his wife he writes: "Our friend, Philip Neyle, one of General Moultrie's aids, was killed by a cannon ball coming through one of the embrasures, but I do not pity him, for he has died nobly in defence of his country; but I pity his aged father, now unhappily bereaved of his beloved and only child." To his brother-in-law and bosom friend, Mr. Edward Rutledge (the youngest of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), on the question whether if he were set at liberty he would rejoin the American army: "You, my dear Ned, may be assured that I will not do anything, however I may be oppressed, at which my friends may blush. If I had a vein that did not beat with love for my country, I myself would open it. If I had a drop of blood that could flow dishonorably, I myself would let it out. Whenever asked the question you mention, I will give it such an answer as is becoming an American officer, a man of honor, and a devotee to the freedom and independence of his country." To Major Money, a British officer, interested for him when a prisoner: "I entered into this cause after reflection and through principle. My heart is altogether American, and neither severity nor favor nor poverty nor influence can ever induce me to swerve from it." To Captain McMahon, another British officer: "The freedom and independence of my country are the gods of my idolatry. I mean to rejoin the American army as soon after my exchange as I possibly can. I will exert my abilities to the utmost in the cause I am engaged in, and to obtain success will attempt every measure that is not cruel or dishonorable."

Such were the sentiments of General Pinckney, which were re-echoed by his brother, who was his exact counterpart in strictness of principle, firm-



ness of character, purity of motive and undaunted courage; but here the resemblance ceased. They were dissimilar in temper and manner. The disposition of the elder brother was warm, with occasional ebullitions; but generous, frank and cheerful—so perfectly alive to the ludicrous that he frequently infringed on the Chesterfield code of politeness by a hearty laugh; jocular with children and young persons, who never felt any restraint in his presence. The disposition of the younger brother was mild and placid, with so much self-control that he at times appeared to strangers cold and unimpassioned, but his heart was as warm as that of the elder, and, like him, he would have made any sacrifice for a friend. He had a keen perception of real wit, which is said never to cause anything more than a smile, nor was he insensible of humor and pleasantry. With those with whom he was intimate he was even sportive, and his epistolary style was frequently so when he addressed his friends. Two short notes, written when he was near eighty, will give some idea of the playfulness of his manner:

"We are impatiently expecting you, my dear nieces, at Eldorado. The fatted calf is ready, the turkeys have had the run of the barn-yard, the pigs are wallowing in rice flour and potatoes, and the wild ducks abound in the river. You see, therefore, we are prepared for the immensity of your appetites, but the best treat you shall have will be the accounts you will receive of your friends in Charleston."

"MY DEAR SISTER:

"I find that old age has a remarkable effect on my memory, strengthening it in some cases and nearly obliterating it in others. For example, if anybody owes me money (an occurrence which, though rare, sometimes happens), I never forget a single cent of it, but if I am the debtor it totally escapes my recollection. I do, however, happen to remember that, when you were last at Santee, you procured some articles for me from Charleston, or paid money for me in some way or other. This, therefore, comes to request you to inform me how this last debt occurred and what is its amount, and, as I have money about me, you may chance to receive your own before an act of oblivion has finally passed."

General Pinckney always said that his brother's natural talents were superior to his, but that he had not indulged so much in study. General Tom Pinckney excelled his brother in Greek—he had always been at the head of his class, which was no small praise at such a seminary as Westminster. His thorough acquaintance with the Greek language gave him an advantage that many Christians do not possess. It enabled him to have

a profound knowledge of the Scriptures, which cannot be obtained by the English version. General Pinckney was deeply read in theology. In arguing on disputed points he not only knew the strongest arguments on his own side, but he would point out to his antagonist where to find those on the opposite. This was often a source of surprise to clergymen of a different persuasion. It is doubtful whether there was ever a more general or constant reader. Nothing in the shape of a book ever escaped him; a child's book, a cookery book, or an old almanac. He read from the moment he arose—that is, a page or a few sentences at a time, while he walked about and made his toilet. Locomotion, it is said, is conducive to thought; but he did not read without method. Until two o'clock his reflective faculties were exercised. After that hour, works of imagination, poetry, novels, plays (unless he was engaged with company), occupied him until he retired to rest. This appropriation of his time continued to the very last. Botany and chemistry he studied as an amusement. He had attended the lectures of Charles and Fourcroy while on his mission to France. Both the brothers, after their retirement from public life, employed themselves and took great pleasure in agriculture.

General Pinckney was twice married. His first wife, and mother of his three daughters, was Sarah, third daughter of Henry Middleton, second President of Congress, and son of Arthur Middleton, second royal Governor of Carolina. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Benjamin Stead, and a descendant of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, one of the proprietary Governors of South Carolina.

General Tom Pinckney was also twice married. His first wife, and the mother of his surviving children, was Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Rebecca Motte, who will long be remembered as the heroine distinguished among the daughters of Carolina. His second wife was Frances, widow of John Middleton (nephew of Sir William Middleton), who at an early age crossed the Atlantic to battle for his country.

Of the Generals Pinckney it may be said that they were patriots among patriots, and they were equally distinguished as good men, for "they had early pressed to their hearts the sweet peace of believing, and the needful supports of a religious trust."

On an unostentatious monument in St. Michael's Church is the following Inscription:

To the Memory of

GENERAL CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,

One of the founders of

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC;



## IN WAR

He was the Companion in Arms  
And friend of Washington.

## IN PEACE

He enjoyed his unchanging confidence,  
And maintained with enlightened zeal  
The Principles of his Administration.

## AS A STATESMAN

He bequeathed to his Country the sentiment  
"Millions for defence,  
"Not a cent for tribute."

## AS A LAWYER

His learning was various and profound,  
His principles pure; his practice liberal.  
With all the accomplishments

## OF THE GENTLEMAN

He combined the virtues of the Patriot  
And the piety of the Christian.

## HIS NAME

Is recorded in the history of his country,  
Inscribed on the charter of her liberties,  
And cherished in the affections

## OF HER CITIZENS.

#### IV.—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, COMMUNICATED BY HON. JOHN SULLIVAN, EXETER, N. H.

TO MAJOR GENERAL SULLIVAN.

SIR,

The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the six nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more.

The troops to be employed under your command are—Clinton's, Poor's, Maxwell's and Hand's Brigades and ten independent companies raised in the State of Pennsylvania.—In Hand's

Brigade, I comprehend all the detached corps of Continental troops now on the Susquehanna and Spencer's regiment—Cortlandt's I consider as belonging to Clinton's Brigade. Alden's may go to Poor's & Butler's & the rifle corps to Maxwell's or Hand's according to their comparative strength and circumstances.

Clinton's Brigade you are informed has been ordered to rendezvous at Canojoharie, subject to your orders either to form a junction with the main body on the Susquehanna, by way of Otsege—or to proceed up the Mohawk river and cooperate in the best manner circumstances will permit—as you judge most advisable.

So soon as your preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming and proceed thence to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of the Indian Settlements—You will establish such intermediate posts as you think necessary for the security of your communication and convoys, nor need I caution you, while you leave a sufficiency of men for their defence to take care to diminish your operating force as little as possible. A post at Tioga will be particularly necessary—either a stockade fort or an intrenched camp—if the latter a block house should be erected in the interior.

I would recommend that some post in the center of the Indian Country should be occupied with all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions, whence parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner; that the country may not be merely overrun but destroyed.

I beg leave to suggest as general rules that ought to govern your operations—to make rather than receive attacks, attended with as much impetuosity, shouting, and noise as possible, and to make the troops act in as loose and dispersed a way as is consistent with a proper degree of government, concert, and mutual support—It should be previously impressed upon the minds of the men whenever they have an opportunity, to rush on with the war hoop and fixed bayonet—nothing will disconcert and terrify the Indians more than this.

I need not urge the necessity of using every method in your power, to gain intelligence of the enemys strength motions and designs; nor need I suggest the extraordinary degree of vigilance and caution which will be necessary to guard against surprises from an adversary so secret desultory and rapid as the Indians—

If a detachment operates on the Mohawk River the commanding officer should be instructed to be very watchful that no troops come from Oswegatchie and Niagara to Oswego without his knowledge; and for this purpose he should keep trusty spies at those three places to advertise him



instantly of the movement of any party and its force—This detachment should also endeavour to keep up a constant intercourse with the main body.

More than common care will be necessary of your arms and ammunition from the nature of the service—They should be particularly inspected after a rain or the passage of any deep water.

After you have very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements; if the Indians should show a disposition for peace, I would have you to negotiate on condition that they will give some decisive evidence of their sincerity by delivering up some of the principle instigators of their past hostility into our hands—Butler, Brandt, & the most mischevious of the Tories that have joined them or any other that may have in their power that we are interested to get into ours—

They may possibly be engaged by address, secrecy and stratagem, to surprise the Garrison of Niagara and the shipping on the lake and put them into our possession. This may be demanded as a condition of our friendship and would be a most important point gained.—If they can render a service of this kind you may stipulate to assist them in their distress with supplies of provisions and other articles of which they will stand in need, having regard in the expectations you give them to our real abilities to perform. I have no power at present to authorize you to conclude a treaty of peace with them but you may agree upon the terms of one letting them know that it must be finally ratified by Congress and giving them every proper assurance that it will be. I shall write to Congress on the subject and endeavour to obtain more ample and definite authority.—

But you will not by any means listen to an overture of peace before the total ruin of their settlements is effected.—It is likely enough their fears if they are unable to oppose us, will compel them to offers of peace, or policy may lead them to endeavour to amuse us in this way to gain time and succour for more effectual opposition. Our future security will be in their inability to injure us the distance to which they are driven and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they receive [*Two or three words are obliterated.*] Peace without this would be fallacious and temporary—New presents and an addition of force from the enemy would engage them to break it the first fair opportunity and all the expense of our extensive preparations would be lost—

When we have effectually chastised them we may then listen to peace and endeavour to draw further advantages from their fears. But even in this case great caution will be necessary to guard against the snares which their treachery may hold out. They must be explicit in their promises give substantial pledges for their performance and

execute their engagements with decision and dispatch. Hostages are the only kind of security to be depended on.

Should Niagara fall into your hands in the manner I have mentioned you will do everything in your power for preserving and maintaining it, by establishing a chain of posts, in such manner as shall appear to you most safe and effectual and tending as little to reduce our general force as possible—This however we shall be better able to decide as the future events of the campaign unfold themselves—I shall be more explicit on the subject hereafter.

When you have completed the object of your expedition, unless otherwise directed in the meantime, you will return to form a junction with the main army by the most convenient expeditious and secure route according to circumstances—The Mohawk river if it can be done without too much risk, will be most eligible on several accounts. Much should depend on the relative position of the main army at the time.

As it is impossible to foresee what may be the exigences of the service in this quarter, this united with other important reasons make it essential that your operations should be rapid and that the expedition should be performed in as little time as will be consistent with its success and efficacy—

And here I cannot forbear repeating my former caution, that your troops may move as light and as little encumbered as possible even from their first out set. The state of our Magazines demands it as well as other considerations—if much time should be lost in transporting the troops and stores up the rivers the provisions for the expedition will be consumed and the general scantiness of our supplies will not permit of their being replaced—consequently the whole enterprise may be defeated. I would recommend it to you for this purpose that the General officers should make an actual inspection of the baggage of their several Brigades and absolutely reject to be left behind, at proper places every article that can be dispensed with on the expedition—This is an extraordinary case and requires extraordinary attention—

Relying so perfectly upon your judgement prudence and activity—I have the highest expectation of success equal to our wishes; and I beg leave to assure you, that I anticipate with great pleasure, the honor which will redound to yourself and the advantage to the common cause, from a happy termination of this important enterprise.

Given at Head Quarters Middle Brook  
31 May 1779 G. WASHINGTON.

EXETER, Feby 25, 1860. I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original orders now in my possession, with the exception of the words above mentioned which are obliterated.

JNO. SULLIVAN.



V.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMA-MENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE  
 "HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS,"  
 BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDES.\*

[For the first time is here published a translation of the account given in Oviedo's history of the march of Narvaez, the earliest of Spanish expeditions for the conquest of Florida. That Captain, failing from mere carelessness to wrench from the hands of Cortez the equipment that Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, had inconsiderately intrusted to him, he came into Spain after his defeat, and there received as a sort of compensation, or in lieu of redress, the royal permission to invade Florida. He landed upon the Peninsula in the year 1528, as appears on the western coast in Sarasota Bay. There are four other Chapters—the last ending with the close of the march made by four survivors at Sonora at the end of eight years—to be given in succeeding numbers.  
 —Ed. Hist. Mag.]

CHAPTER I.

I. \* \* \* Cabeza de Vaca, who went as Treasurer of the King, says that from Xagua, which is a port or harbor in the Island of Cuba, he wrote to His Majesty on the fifteenth day of February of the year one-thousand five-hundred and twenty-seven, concerning the loss of two ships and sixty men with all there was on board and of everything that had occurred until then. After this loss, which included twenty horses, it was determined to winter in Xagua, where, according to him, four ships and all the people remained from the sixth day of November of that year to the twenty-second of February following, when the Governor arrived.

\* The Roman numerals in the margins of the text show the matter corresponding to that in the Chapters of *The Shipwrecks of Cabeza de Vaca*. The meditations of the old chronicler, which at times break the thread of discourse, have in some instances been omitted, as well some redundances, the same liberty that is taken by him with the original, though for no want of due reflection has any particle here of the text been suffered to escape that should be retained.

In the Proem which introduces the Chapters in the present account, as well as in an explanatory Chapter which follows them, are passages necessary to reproduce in their substance for a knowledge of the authorship and state of the Narrative.

"The hidalgos Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo, who were with Panfilo de Narvaez have given account of where they went and what befel them. After suffering shipwreck and escaping numerous perils, while on their way to give account to His Majesty by word of mouth concerning the things to be told here, they addressed the *Real Audiencia* of this City of Sancto Domingo in the Island of Espanola. From their letter, written at Havana, will be drawn the discourse, some repetitions and superfluous words rejected, but nothing wanting in the substance and essence of what that contains."

II. With an additional brigantine the voyage was continued, four hundred men being on board and eighty horses. On Tuesday of Holy-week, the twelfth of April, the vessels arrived on the coast and followed it along until Thursday, when they anchored by the shore in a shallow bay, at the end of which they saw some Indian houses.

III. The next day the officers went on shore, taking all the people they could to land in the boats, setting them down near the dwellings the owners had forsaken. One of the houses was large enough to contain three hundred persons; the others were small. Many fish-nets were found, and among them a little bell (*sonaja*) of gold.

On the following day the Governor ordered standards to be raised for His Majesty, and took possession of the country. He caused the King's officers to come together, the friars and people on shore, to whom he presented the Royal authorization, which was acknowledged, and he was obeyed accordingly as Governor and Captain-general. The officers presented their credentials, and they, likewise, were received as belonging to His Majesty. Presently an order was given to land all the people, and the horses, which were greatly fagged from being long on ship-board, the half nearly having died at sea. The next day, Sunday, the festival of the Resurrection, the people of the town came and spoke to the Christians; but they were not understood. They appeared to menace and order the Christians to go out of the country, making fierce gestures; they then went away.

IV. The following day, that he might see and explore the land, the Governor mounted, and taking five cavalry and forty of foot, went to the Northeast, until coming to a bay that enters up into the country, and thence he returned. The day after he sent the brigantine to coast the shore of Florida for a port. Miruclo said he knew whither the people might be taken (but about that the pilot erred; he knew not where to look for it), and, thus searching, he should continue on to the Island of Cuba and port of Havana for a ship that was expected from there, on which were forty men and twelve horses; that, finding her, the two vessels should bring from the town all the provision it were possible, to where the Governor and his people tarried.

This being done, the Christians departed. They struck the bay before noticed and followed the shore. Having gone four leagues from the point of starting, they found Indians, three of whom they took; and, showing them a little maize, asked where there was any. These guided them to a town at the end of the bay and showed them a little maize growing, which was the first that had been seen. Some large cases were found of the fashion of Castilla, in each of which was a



dead man covered with painted skins. These people appeared, to the Commissary and friars, to have been idolators, so they caused the Governor to burn their bodies. Pieces of shoes and linen, of woollen, and some bits of iron, were likewise observed. The natives being questioned said by signs that those things had been found in a ship wrecked on the shore of the bay. When shown a little gold they said there was none in that country except a long way off, in a Province called Apalache, where it was in great amount. And so of every thing that was shown to those Indians, if they supposed the Christians coveted it at all, they would say it was to be found abundantly in Apalache.

Simply on this information the Christians took their departure, having those Indians with them. Ten or twelve leagues on the way they found a dozen or fifteen houses, where was maize, and remained there two days. Seeing no one, they agreed to return to the place at which they had left the Comptroller with the rest of the people and the ships; and, having come there, they related what they had found inland, the amount of which has been told.

Next day, the first of May, the Governor, having caused the officers of the King, with the Commissary, to come together, by official announcement, before a Notary, he said that he desired to enter the land, while the ships should sail along the coast; and on this he asked their opinions. The Treasurer, Cabeça de Vaca, said it appeared to him that they ought not to abandon the ships before leaving them in a harbor peopled; and, this done, the Governor, with his command, should march inland, whence they might return to seek that settled point and people at convenience; that for many reasons he thought they should not advance; the land where they had entered, as well from what the natives informed them as from what they had themselves seen, was poor and unpopulated; that they awaited the return of the brigantine and ship with subsistence from Havana, and the pilots were ignorant of where they were, nor could they learn anything; for these, and for other reasons which appeared to the Treasurer good, he said that ought not to be done which the Governor proposed.

The Commissary declared his opinion to be that they should go inland, keeping near the coast until arriving at the port the pilots said was fifteen leagues distant on the way to Panuco, and which they could not over-pass without seeing, as it ran up a dozen leagues, and that there they would tarry for the ships, or the ships await them; and that by no means ought they again to embark, which would be to brave God after the many adversities and trials experienced on the way to that place.

The Comptroller and the Inspector agreed with

the Commissary, and the Governor resolved to act in accordance with their opinion. The Treasurer, seeing what was the intention, repeatedly required Narvaez not to march, because of those reasons, with others which he stated; and he asked the evidence that he did so under the hand of the Notary. The Governor responded that, as there was no port, nor source for subsisting a population, because of the sterility of the soil, he took away the people he had brought, and was going in quest of a port and country in which he might establish a town: of this he likewise required the evidence.

V. Thereupon all the men were ordered to be in readiness, and the ships to provide themselves with whatever was necessary for departure. The next day the Governor left, taking with him two hundred and sixty infantry and forty cavalry. There went the officers mentioned, the Commissary and the other friars. They journeyed inland fifteen days, subsisting on a ration of half a pound of salted pork with one pound of bread, until coming to a river, over which they swam. On the other side two hundred Indians beset them, with whom they engaged, and captured five or six persons. These took them to their houses near by, where in the field was found much maize, then fit to be beaten.

The next day, the officers and friars, having besought the Governor to examine the entrance for a port, he sent the Treasurer with Castillo and forty men, who went on foot, as horses could not be taken. They traveled among some shoals of the sea-coast, through oyster beds, a matter of two leagues, and came to where ran the river they passed over inland the day before; but as they could not cross it for its depth, they went back to the camp.

The following day the Governor ordered a Captain with six cavalry and forty infantry to go over the river by the way they had come, to search that bay for a port, and was accordingly done. He found the bay low, and the ships could not enter there. This report being made, the force left in quest of Apalache, taking the captives for guides, and marched until the day after Saint John, in June, when they arrived at the place they most desired to see in the world, as much because of the length of the way as the urgency for food; but, above all, for the great quantity of gold that was said to be in that Province. Although in some parts they had found maize, they oftentimes traveled four or five days without finding any.

VI. When the Spaniards arrived they pushed boldly up to enter the town; but finding no one to make resistance, the men being absent, they seized the women and boys. The place consisted of forty small houses, well covered against the severe cold and tempests of that region. Many



deer-skins were found, and some shawls of coarse linen; great many corn-fields were in the woods and much dry grain in the town.

VII. The territory through which the Spaniards went is level and covered with fine groves, the trees standing well apart. There are many lakes, and very many deer over all that country, extensive forests having fallen trees, caused by the great storms and hurricanes which often occur in that region. Many trees were seen split from top to bottom by lightning. Nowhere on the way, after crossing the river, did they find any natives who would venture to await their arrival.

At the close of the second day of arrival, the Indians came peaceably with their Cacique, asking for their women and children. They were all returned, and the Cacique kept. But the next day some two hundred Indians made an attack, and succeeded in setting fire to the houses which were occupied. The Christians, who were on the alert, sallied immediately, driving them into the woods and mountains, without, however, taking any of them, though successful in killing two or three. The day after came two hundred more Indians on another quarter, from other towns and people, against whom the Christians likewise went out, and they, like the first, drew off and fled.

The people remained in this town twenty-six days, in which time three excursions were made. The country was found to be very poor and thin of inhabitants, with very bad passage-ways and ponds, having dense thickets. The Cacique being asked, as well other Indians brought from a little way back, as to where were their towns and territories, said that altogether they contained less population and subsistence than the place they were in, which was the principal one of the country; that further on were many solitudes, swamps, lakes, and very dense scrub. Being asked if there were people and towns towards the sea, they answered that eight days journey from there was a town called Aute, the inhabitants were their friends, had much maize and beans, and the place was near the sea. From this information, and all they had seen, discovering that the land was not what they had been told it was, nor did it anywhere hold out a hope of anything better, the Indians where they were having begun to make war upon them, having killed a Cacique the friars brought with them from New Spain, wounding also some of their companions while going to drink, shooting from out those ponds and deep fastnesses of scrub at all passers, the Spaniards determined, at the end of twenty-six days, to depart for Aute.

Think you, Reader, that this was pleasant pastime these Christian sinners were engaged upon? Would that I could be told what those friars and Pamphilo de Narvaez preached to those men, who so blindly went on, leaving their countries under

false promises; for no matter how many die, none are ever warned. Who told them of having seen that gold they sought? What pilots must they have had, so expert in navigation, that they knew not the coast, and could not tell where they were; and what guides and what interpreters they took with them! Presumptuous madness! What greater crime can a leader commit than in conducting men to a land that neither he nor any one of his host has ever set eyes upon. I well believe that Pamphilo remembered, and more than once, of the counsel that I gave him in Toledo. Indeed, I often marvel and am often angry with these Captains, seeing, on the one hand, that they are astute, skilful and valiant men, while on the other, although they have seen foreign heads broken, by which they might learn some caution, they neither fear nor take heed of any peril whatsoever. I would that it might please God that those who thus suffer should pay for it only with their lives, without the soul receiving injury. But I doubt the salvation of the greater number; for I have lived a long time in these Indias, and have seen that in general the desires of these men are founded on this accursed appetite, postponing, until another season, all the scruples that to their consciences should be profitable and worthy of acceptance.

Since in the Proem I have lauded Narvaez as a dexterous soldier and afterward Captain, it is but reasonable to expect that I should here give account for him. I say, then, that I have known men very brave with lance and sword, who, apart from them, are unable to govern, yet others could direct with the finger. Fighting is the quality best to be looked after; for rare it is to find a man with shame who will not fight when it is for his honor; and more Captains there are who can fight and command a few than govern an army, more captains to be commanded than know how to command. Narvaez, so long as he was ordered by Diego Velazquez, within the limits of Cuba, knew how to serve and to do as he was ordered: after he went out from that Island to New Spain, in the XXXIII. Book may be learned the prudence that he exercised, and in the XXXV. you shall read in what his governing terminated. \* \* \*

## VI.—FIRST CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN NEW ENGLAND.

REPLY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY TO THE HON. E. E. BOURNE.

EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

The introductory note to Judge Bourne's article on the "First Christian Worship in New England," in your July number, hardly does justice to the



*Congregational Quarterly.* The Judge's article was returned, with some hesitation, from a feeling that he was a little "too sharp" (for our pages) in its *personal allusions* to the writer of the article he criticised. When Judge Bourne thinks that "one of the material attributes of truth was its 'sharpness,' we agree with him; but we do not consider the 'sharpness' of an argument to be identical with 'sharp' reflections upon the individual against whose views the argument is directed. Therefore the Judge's statement that the 'editor takes a different view of the matter,' i. e. as to the 'pungency' of truth, is uncalled for and incorrect. Doubtless, also, when he said, "if 'he thinks that error had better go unanswered 'than to be corrected by the sharpness of truth,' not only he misunderstood our objections, but he could not have known that his article was not returned until a clergyman of Maine, whom we supposed to be a friend of the Judge's, and who certainly warmly espoused his views, had forwarded to the *Quarterly* an article in reply to Mr. Cushman's, covering the precise points at issue, which was gladly inserted in the July *Quarterly*."

The editors of the *Quarterly* have never expressed any opinion whatever on the merits of the Popham controversy; I do not know that they have any. The particular point in Judge Bourne's address which Mr. Cushman criticised, appears to be the statement that "Here was offered the first 'Christian prayer, in our own language, that ever 'broke from human lips on the shores of New England.'" Mr. Cushman says, and I believe Judge Bourne freely admits, that that prayer had been offered earlier on the near islands. Judge Bourne replied that he used "shores," in a marine sense, in contra-distinction from the island; and as synonymous with Main or the Continent; and every lawyer would so understand it, from the necessity of the case. To that definition of his meaning, no one can now object. But in a public oration not addressed to lawyers, would not people, even educated men, having so broad a statement as that I have quoted,—using, not "shore" but "shores,"—naturally get the idea which Mr. Cushman, and others got? If he had said "main-land;" or had he alluded to the earlier worship on the islands appertaining to the main-land, all ambiguity would have been arrested. There seems no question as to the historical facts; but simply a question arising out of the use of a particular term in a restricted and technical sense, when many readers understood it in a general and ordinary sense. As Judge Bourne now explains it, of course the controversy is at an end.

A. H. Q.

## VII.—LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PARKER, OF NEWBURY.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQ., OF BOSTON.

A few years ago, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., loaned me a copy of a small quarto book of 222 pages, entitled: *Lectiones Novem de totidem Religionis Capitibus præcipue hoc tempore controversis prout publice habebantur Oxonia in Vespersys. Per IOHANNEM PRIDEAUX Exoniensis Collegii Rectorum, and S. Th. Professorem Regium. Oxonia, Excudebant Iohannes Lichfield & Goliemes Turner pro Henrico Crypps, An. Dom. 1625.*

The book had the following names and dates in various places, viz.: "NICH<sup>o</sup> GILMAN, 1735," "EX DONO Dni W. Clark;" "TRISTRAM GILMAN, 1761;" "T. GILMAN, Oct. 1813;" "1837," "SAM<sup>l</sup> GILMAN." On one of the fly-leaves at the beginning was this note:—

"TO M. PARKER AT M. FOSTERS  
"IN NEW-BERY.

"GOOD SIR, be pleased to accept this small gift and the \*\*\* son of the giver, who respects you not a little for your fathers sake, whose graces, as zeale, learning, conscientious discharge of his calling, vndaunted resolution to speak for Christ, yea to dye for him, the world cannot so much calumniate and abhorre as I admire and reverence. For his virtues and your owne gifts sake, I much desire your acquaintance and familiaritie, and that our mutual loue may be increased and expressed by intercourse of letters, if you stay at Newbery, where you may advantage god's church, and qualifie tender witteswith y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of Christ. These lectures I need not commend. You can quickly censure them. I cease; but ever will professe my selfe,

"Your affectionate friend,

"EDWARD COOKES.

"QUEENES COLLEGE IN OXON :

"March 14, 1624."

Of Mr. Cookes, the writer of the above, I have been able to learn nothing. The person whom he addresses, was evidently Rev. Thomas Parker, the only son of Rev. Robert Parker, a Puritan writer of great repute in his day. Thomas Parker was born on Whitsunday, the eighth of June, 1595. He was admitted into Magdalen College, Oxford; but, after his father's exile, removed to Dublin, where he was a pupil of the celebrated Dr. James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. From Dublin he joined his father in Holland. Here he was assisted in his studies by Dr. William Ames. His father died in 1614, at Doesburg, where he was preacher to the garrison.



Thomas afterwards returned to England and resided at Newbury, in Berkshire, where he taught the free school. He was evidently residing there in March, 1624-5, when the above letter was written. He continued there till he left for New England, where he arrived, in the *Mary and John*, in May, 1634. He soon after became minister at the new settlement of Agawam, now Ipswich. The next year he commenced, with his cousin, Rev. James Noyes (who had been an assistant in his school at Newbury), and others, a settlement at the mouth of the Merrimac, which settlement was called, in honor of their former home, Newbury. Here he was chosen Pastor, and his cousin Teacher of the Church; and here he continued to reside till his death, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1677, aged eighty-one years.

The book above mentioned, either before or after his death, probably came into the possession of his nephew, Rev. John Woodbridge, whose mother was a daughter of Rev. Robert Parker, or of his grand-nephew, Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, the second son of Rev. John W. The mother of Rev. Ward Clark, whose name is written in the book as a former owner, was Elizabeth, the only daughter of the above Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge.

J. W. D.

### VIII.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.

#### 2. HERMAN E. LUDEWIG, LL.D.\*

Herman E. Ludewig, LL. D., Lawyer, Historian, Bibliographer, was born in Dresden, Saxony, on the fourteenth of October, 1810. His father was a subaltern officer in the Revenue Service in Dresden, and subsequently in Pirna. He had no great acquisitions himself, but sufficiently appreciated the value of a sound education to devote all his scanty means to the culture of his children, who were two daughters, besides the subject of this sketch.

Herman E. Ludewig was sent to the best school of Dresden, where he soon evinced an extraordinary thirst for knowledge and an unusual fondness for reading, carrying home all the books he could lay hands on: often reproofed for this exaggerated application, he found protection as well as guidance in the matter of the absorption of promiscuous literature from his mother, who was entirely devoted to his physical and mental education.

The end of the Napoleonic wars, the Restoration,

the Philhellenic uprising, the fermentation among the youth of Germany, subsequent to the treaty of Vienna, by which Royal promises so lavishly made in the day of gloom were so largely broken, and many other influences of that eventful period, impressed the lively mind of Ludewig in the years of his development. His love of study, his taste for the beautiful, and his fondness for the picturesque in nature, were greatly assisted in their growth by the admirable collections in literature and art stored in the capital of Saxony, and by the proximity of some of the loveliest scenery in Germany, in Saxonian Switzerland, and in the Bohemian mountains. Favored by a healthy frame, large and handsome figure, a frank and open countenance, and exceedingly winning manners, he made warm friends wherever he went, and knew how to enlist the services of his friends to facilitate his own literary pursuits and general progress. He was fond of music, and not only became a very good pianist and singer, but thoroughly studied the compositions of the masters of all nations, the history of music and musical instruments, and took particular delight in the best of church music, well represented in the Royal (Catholic) Church of Dresden, which he on that account visited with great regularity, though he attended service in the Lutheran Church, to which his parents belonged.

At eighteen years of age he went to the University of Leipzig, and in 1831 to that of Goettingen, studying law with the zeal which characterized him in all his pursuits. Goettingen at that time was one of the great centres of culture and full of the most distinguished men of letters; whilst its University Library was one of the very best in the world. A young man of Ludewig's literary turn of mind and social talents would naturally experience a wonderful development under such circumstances, and Ludewig never neglected to profit by intercourse with men of worth, or by the largest use of literary means within his reach. His main studies were of law in all its branches, including the local laws of various nations, international law, diplomatic history, history and philosophy of law, etc.; but much of his time was nevertheless devoted to the curiosities of literature of various nations, to belles-lettres, modern languages, music and the fine arts. These pursuits and the influences of the refined society in which he moved, made him one of the most accomplished of gentlemen.

As the son of a free mason, he had been accepted by the fraternity of masons at the early age of eighteen, and entered into the spirit of masonry with his usual zeal, making its history an especial study, and bringing his large intellectual faculties to bear upon the work of the brotherhood. Very distinguished men, such as Baron Frankenstein, the renowned librarian of Dresden, and others of

\* For this sketch of the life and writings of Mr. Ludewig, we are indebted to the pen of his most intimate friend, Rudolph Garrigue, Esq.; and we are sure that our readers will welcome it as a graceful tribute to the memory of one of the most diligent and unselfish of "our Historical Writers."—*EN. HIST. MAG.*



equal rank and merit in other walks of life, belonged to the circle into which Ludewig was thus admitted, and greatly assisted him by wise counsel in his literary and professional career.

After finishing his studies at Goettingen and making a journey to France, whose collections of books and pictures he explored with the perseverance of an inveterate amateur in letters and the fine arts, he returned to Dresden, and began to practice law; and in 1836 was married to Miss Maria Rocksch, a young lady of considerable fortune, an amiable, cheerful disposition, and such accomplishments as good society in Dresden generally affords its members. They were married at the house of his parents in Pirna, and immediately started on a very extensive wedding tour, embracing all the South German States, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and France. Intellectually prepared for such a journey as few men are, Ludewig's mind expanded under the historical, ethnological and climatological influences thus working upon him. All his youthful prejudices vanished. He recognized the good and the noble in man independently of nationality, language or religious creed, and returned to Dresden enriched in knowledge and in sentiment after an absence of nearly a year, during which time he had become personally acquainted with nearly all the prominent men of the countries he had visited; whilst the popular life of the masses had furnished him with rare material of comparative observation of nationalities, and the grand beauties of nature which had impressed him on his travels, particularly in Switzerland, had still more elevated his mind, already so appreciative of the true and the beautiful. An uncommon facility for acquiring foreign languages assisted him greatly. He spoke five or six languages with great fluency, although he never could master the native accent of any of them.

The extensive acquaintance formed in his travels among the highest classes of society, together with this command of foreign languages, proved of great benefit to Ludewig's business as a lawyer after his return to Dresden, which is a great centre of attraction to numberless travelers and the residence of hundreds of foreign families at all times. Ludewig's reputation for rare abilities soon penetrated this circle, and he derived from it a great number of his clients.

Although moving for the most part in the higher classes of society, and although outranking most men in acquirements and experience, he was entirely free both from a false pride and a cringing deference to power. His noble heart was open and accessible to the poorest and most lowly of men; whilst to Princes and their instruments he always exhibited a manly independence and a perfectly frank and easy deportment. He could not learn even to take off his hat in casually

passing the King in the street; and as his sparkling wit and keen criticism was as apt to include the court life of Saxony as other dark phases of society, such independence of speech and action gradually made him a number of enemies, and life in Dresden became disagreeable to him.

His attention had been early riveted by the wonderful development of the great Republic of the Western Hemisphere. His geographical, historical and ethnological studies had embraced even the remotest parts of the world; and he devoted as much energy to the study of the American Indians as to that of people much nearer home. But most of all was he attracted to the United States by the free institutions under which such a marvelous prosperity of an entire people had been called into life.

After several years of preparation for the step contemplated, he gave up his practice of law; resigned from all honorary posts which he filled; realized his property as far as practicable; and emigrated with his wife (children they had none) to the land of promise. Landing in New York early in 1844, he remained there just long enough to organize his plans for an extensive tour of observation; and then started out for what eventually turned out to be a two years' trip through the United States. Beginning with the New England States, he visited all the principal seats of commerce, industry and learning, making the acquaintance of great numbers of prominent men, and devoting particular attention to the institutions and laws of the various States, and to the literary collections, public and private. With untiring industry he travelled from place to place, always well recommended by prominent men who had been struck by his refined manners and by his rare profundity of knowledge, gathering as he went, with an amount of labor never yet truly appreciated, the material for his subsequent gift to the scholars of the United States, the *Bibliography of American Local History*. Everything appertaining to American History was an object of deep study to him, not only the History of the United States and its component States, but also the history of Indian Tribes, Indian Antiquities from Mexico, and particularly Yucatan, up to the Canadas, exploring expeditions, surveys for inter-oceanic canals or trans-continental railroads. All great questions of statesmanship, commerce, navigation, mining, agriculture, free-trade and protective tariff, interested and occupied his comprehensive mind. Probably no other foreign traveller has ever returned from a journey of observation so thoroughly posted on American matters as did Ludewig when he took up his permanent residence in New York, at the end of 1845. He immediately systematized the vast literary material gathered during his journey, and published at his own expense, the bibliography alluded to, sending



it to his literary acquaintance throughout the land as a free gift in token of gratitude for hospitality and assistance enjoyed by him during his trip. The book fell flat. Be it that Bibliography, then hardly known here, was considered a puerile waste of time; be it that those who were well fitted to appreciate the immense and well-directed labor embodied in Ludewig's book, were reluctant to accord to the *foreigner* the full measure of praise to which he was clearly entitled, the fact remains that for about two hundred and fifty copies of his book sent as presents to as many literary men or to libraries, the author received just twenty-seven letters of acknowledgment. He was seriously hurt by this slight; and, in course of time, took a characteristic revenge. Continuing his labors in collecting bibliographical material, he printed a supplement to his book, but struck off only thirty copies, of which he retained three, and sent twenty-seven to the gentlemen who had acknowledged his first gift. Meanwhile, the value of the book had become very generally acknowledged; copies occasionally appearing in book sales being always bid in at very high prices, and the supplement was in great demand. But nothing was elicited from the author by applicants but the politest regrets that it was entirely out of print.

Having settled in New York, Ludewig began the regular course of study for the American bar in a lawyer's office; and with his general knowledge of law he very soon mastered the questions of local practice, and opened an office of his own which he continued till he died.

All his leisure time was devoted to literary labor, but his leisure time commenced when ordinary people go to bed, for he considered it as much a matter of business to devote his talents to the good of his fellow men in associations, clubs, lodges, singing unions and public enterprises of every description as to attend to his law business during the day; and his general presence as well as his incomparable intellectual superiority made him the very soul of all social gatherings which he attended. Returning home late at night he would then steal the midnight hours for correspondence with literary societies or celebrities in all parts of the world, or in preparing communications to the periodical press of Europe and America. He was an honorary member of a number of learned societies, and never failed to pay in ample contributions for all the honors he received. Among these contributions was a very valuable "History of Political Parties in the 'United States,' from the adoption of the Constitution until the party of Native Americans, which was so active at the time of his arrival in this country. Numerous papers on Indian subjects were also prepared by him; and he kept up a running correspondence with the editors of the

*Augsburg Gazette* and of the *Ausland*, furnishing them political and geographical information.

During all these labors he kept open house for all literary celebrities visiting New York, and had always the warmest welcome and practical aid for poor men of merit. Thus his expenses were much greater than his income from his law business, and his property gradually decreased. It is presumed that much of it was actually destroyed by a fire which occurred in his office in Wall street, a safe which he had trusted proving unsafe. At all events, from that day he was obliged to work much harder for money than he had ever done before. But none of his friends ever heard a complaint from his lips. He continued to be the same cheerful companion he had ever been, but he would leave the social circle sooner and work deeper into the night. Thus he undermined his health and died after a painful illness, in the forty-eighth year of his life, in December, 1857. Even during his last illness he continued his literary labors, reading as carefully as his sufferings would permit the proofs of his *Bibliotheca Glottica*, being a bibliography of American Indian Languages, published by Trubner, in London, and expressing great joy that he lived to finish it. He died like the wise man he had always been in life, quietly assuring his friends that he was perfectly ready to go, having been early taught to be ready at any moment.

It is to be regretted for the sake of literature that he did not live to collect his works, which were as multiform as they were numerous. He was beloved by all who knew him; and if vast acquirements devoted with utter self-abnegation to the service of his fellow men entitle a man to the love of his neighbors, he was deservedly beloved.

R. G.

## IX. — EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

### REPLY OF *The Methodist* TO THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

[By an agreement with *The Methodist*, we published in our May number, *in extenso*, all that its editors had to say, in answer to our former articles on this subject, on condition that an equal space in *The Methodist* should be devoted to our reply, which was printed in our June number.

After attempting, unsuccessfully, to mutilate our article, without previously obtaining our consent, *The Methodist* published a portion of that article, without intimating to its readers, as we requested it to do, that there were other portions which it did not thus re-produce; and, soon after, without alluding to the omitted portions of that reply, or seeming to recognize the existence of those portions, it rejoined, in defence of the founder of its sect, and of his followers in America, in an article which speaks for itself concerning the peculiar integrity to the Truth, *per se*, of those who control the columns of that peculiarly religious sheet.

The following is that rejoinder—our readers will not fail to compare it with our reply, to which it is responsive, in the June number. We shall pay our respects to it at an early day.—ED. HIST. MAG.]



## I.

[From *The Methodist of August 17.*]

Some time ago we answered, in these columns, the attack of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE on the loyalty of the early Methodists to the American Revolution. Its editor has published our reply, on condition that we allow him an equal space to respond to it in our pages, and we have now given in instalments his rejoinder. In commenting upon it, we shall be as brief as possible; if our readers will recall our former arguments, they will save us the necessity of much repetition. While we shall repeat them far enough to meet the new forms of statement made by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we must refer to our first papers for fuller facts. The editor of the *Magazine* gives us great advantage in his evident loss of temper and attempts at severe language, but as historical truth alone is concerned in the question, we shall not waste our space in retaliating his small sarcasms.

He first accuses us of "concealing the fact that 'the article in question (the one in his periodical, 'which we reviewed), was one of a series of articles 'on the early history of Methodism, which had 'appeared in the *Magazine*, month after month, 'and insinuated that it was merely a special 'article, written for a special occasion.'" Now, we affirm that this is the first time we have heard of any preceding articles. We knew nothing of the editor's former discussions, and after what we have read from him, we do not now care to expend time in reading them. The one which we answered was specific; it presented a particular topic, and argued it at great length, without an allusion to any that had gone before. The latter are obnoxious to the charge we brought against this, for they were written during the Centenary year.

"So, also, when *The Methodist* spoke of the 'decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of 'opinion in favor of the Colonists,' and told the 'world that we 'must have read' it in Dr. Stevens' *History of Methodism*, although it knew 'THERE WAS NO SUCH EVIDENCE THERE, it supposed, we have no doubt, that it was acting as 'became a Methodist journal."

Now, here is a point-blank denial that there is "any such evidence of Wesley's early change of 'opinion in favor of the Colonists.'" Now, a curious fact about this denial is, that in the very article that the editor is thus answering, we presented, in Wesley's own words, the proof of that "change of opinion in favor of the Colonists." And yet, the editor persistently repeats his denial, and defies the *The Methodist* to show any such proof. What can be done with such a controversialist? We said, too, that the editor, in his charge against Wesley, accused Methodist historians of unvarnished accounts of Wesley's opinions

on the subject, "referring particularly to Stevens' *History of Methodism*, vol. ii., pp. 129, 130," and that he must have been aware of Wesley's change of opinion, because Stevens gives Wesley's own words on the subject in the very place referred to, while acknowledging that at an earlier period he had imprudently published his "address" to the colonies against the Revolution. Wesley's own words are so important on this point, that we repeat them here again, and again affirm that they are there, where the editor says they are not. Here is the passage in the *History of Methodism*, as above:

"It is due to the memory of Wesley to say that 'he, meantime, wrote a letter to the Premier, 'Lord North, and to the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Dartmouth, remonstrating against 'the war, and pleading for the Americans. He 'declares in it that, in spite of all his long-rooted 'prejudices as a Churchman and a loyalist, he 'cannot avoid thinking, if he think at all, that 'these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing 'more than their legal rights, and that in the 'most modest and inoffensive manner that the 'nature of the thing would allow. But waiving 'this, waiving all considerations of right and 'wrong, I ask,' he adds, with prophetic foresight, 'Is it common-sense to use force toward the 'Americans? My lord, whatever has been 'affirmed, these men will not be frightened; 'and it seems they will not be conquered so 'easily as was at first imagined. They will probably dispute every inch of the ground, and, if 'they die, die sword in hand. Indeed, some of 'our valiant officers say, 'Two thousand men 'will clear America of these rebels.' No, nor 'twenty thousand, be they rebels or not, nor 'perhaps treble that number. They are as strong 'men as you; they are as valiant as you, if not 'abundantly more valiant, for they are, one and 'all, enthusiasts—enthusiasts for liberty. They 'are calm, deliberate enthusiasts; and we know 'how this principle breathes into softer souls 'stern love of war, and thirst of vengeance, and 'contempt of death. We know men, animated 'with this spirit, will leap into a fire, or rush 'into a cannon's mouth.' The letter is long, and 'full of sagacious views and statesmanlike counsels."

This important letter has, within a few years been given to the public, from the manuscripts of Lord Dartmouth's family. The American historian, Mr. Bancroft, deemed it of so much importance that, when it appeared, he cancelled several stereotype plates of his seventh volume, that he might insert quotations from it, correcting some of his earlier intimations of Wesley's opinions. It settles the question between us and THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, so far as a change in Wesley's



opinion of the colonial controversy is concerned.

In his former article, the editor accused Wesley of "coldly absolving the American Methodists (after the Revolution) from their obligations to the English Church, authorizing them to organize an independent church, without a single supplication of Divine favor in their behalf; he had not even a natural wish for their success, nor a kind word of brotherly regard at the parting, so repugnant were the prevailing ideas in America, so distasteful the position of affairs in this country, to him and his friends!" All this we disproved, showing that Wesley was thoroughly cordial, and heartily energetic in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, declaring in his letter on the occasion: "We judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has made them free!" Now, while this *Historical Magazine* professes to be scrupulously devoted to the record and conservation of pure historical facts, its editor entirely ignores (in his reply) this important point; he makes no correction of his former statement about it, and does not even mention our refutation of his misrepresentation!

This is all we see it necessary to say on our first instalment from the *Magazine*. On its remaining ones we shall hereafter comment.

## II.

[From the *Methodist* of August 31.]

The second instalment of the attack of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, on the loyalty of the early Methodists, is given in our number for July 27th. We must refer the reader to it, to save waste of space in quoting its allegations. This instalment however, requires but little comment. All it avers, particularly all it cites, from the old Methodist Disciplines, or Minutes, is sufficiently correct, and no Methodist will demur to anything in the article except its inference from its citations, which is altogether false, historically and logically.

The substance of the article amounts to this: that anterior to the organization of the Church at the Christmas conference of 1784,\* the preachers did not administer the sacraments, but then people generally received them at the English Church, and the preachers, in annual conferences, opposed any innovation on this arrangement, until Wesley could provide, "decently and in order," for these means of grace by the hands of Methodist pastors. All this is very true, and it is an honorable evidence of the good sense and orderly disposition of the primitive societies. "Toryism," to which the *Magazine* ascribes it, had nothing to do with it,

\* The *Magazine* says 1785; it has been led into this error, however, by an error in the title of the old Minutes, which places the Conference in that year; it surely overstepped the year; the organization was in 1784.

and never entered into the policy of the societies on the subject. There is not an allusion of the kind in any of the contemporary documents, official or unofficial. It was an accidental state of things which had grown up from long antecedent circumstances; and having no motive whatever connected with the Colonial Revolution, was corrected as soon as the Revolution allowed of such communication with Wesley as could admit of the correction.

Before the Revolution, American Methodism was essentially a part of the British Methodist movement, and, like the latter, was under the control of Wesley. He had not ordained preachers in England, but his people there received the sacraments in the National Church, at least such of them as had been connected with the National Church did so, and such as had been Dissenters went to their former chapels for these ordinances. Of course the same policy extended to the British Colonies. Wesley did not wish to complicate himself with the existing ecclesiastical authorities by any obtrusive or unnecessary measures. But every Methodist who knows the history of his Church knows, what the *Magazine* editor seems not to be aware of, that these very citations he makes from the old Minutes had reference to a disposition prevalent in certain quarters, to provide themselves with the sacraments without ordination; a policy that was deemed by the preachers, and is still deemed by most religious bodies, disorderly. The Conference proposed to postpone the question, and receive the sacraments elsewhere, till the return of peace, when Wesley could be appealed to, and ordination provided; and this was effectively done by Wesley himself ordaining men for America. As the colonies were British, and of the early Methodists had been in the British Church, of course they usually resorted to that Church in the colonies for the sacraments, but such of them as had been Dissenters were not required to do so; they went for these ordinances where they pleased, and suffered no penalties for so doing.

These are the historical facts. But from these very simple, natural, and harmless, not to say very commendable facts, the *Magazine* draws the following sweeping inference:

"We have a right, in view of its silence on the subject, to consider *The Methodist* as conceding the truth of the averment, thus sustained, that 'every Methodist of that period was necessarily an Episcopalian,' and as necessarily a daily suppliant for a bestowal of the Divine favor on 'George III., his Parliaments, his Armies, and his Fleets, as were Drs. Seabury and Inglis, Chandler and Wilkins, and all other Episcopals of the period; and we have a right also, in view of the same silence, to treat our oppo-



"nent as conceding the claim, thus sustained, "that it was not until the Conference of January, "1785, that George III., ceased, in law, to be the "supreme head, in ecclesiastical affairs, of every "Methodist 'Society' in America; and that, "until that time, the Cannons, and Liturgy, and "Common Prayer promulgated by HIS authority "were their supreme law."

All this is sheer sophistry. The Methodists did not so pray for the King and his armies and fleets. Very few, if any of them, knew anything or cared anything about the "Canons," etc., of "the Church." They had not the sacraments in their own humble meetings, most of which were in private houses or barns. They went for them occasionally to other churches, but had no other relations whatever to the latter; these had no jurisdiction over them, and had nothing to do with them, save to persecute them. Moreover, during most of the time to which the *Magazine's* citations refer, there was no such praying for the King, and his army and fleet, in the English churches of the colonies. That would not have been tolerated by the colonial authorities during the Revolution.

This is a fair showing of the facts of the case, as every student of Methodist history knows. Quite a schism was threatened in the Virginia Methodist Societies, in favor of providing the sacraments for their families; but they were induced to accept them from the Established Church of the colony, till Wesley could be consulted. The citations of the *Magazine* all have reference to these local facts. The forbearance of the Methodists had nothing to do with the Toryism of the Established Church; they had no thought of the kind; their forbearance was simply owing to their deference to the usage of all Christian denominations, a regard for established Church order. It was conditioned expressly on a pledge of the preachers, that Wesley should be appealed to when the war might admit of it, to provide for them. At the end of the war, the appeal was made to Wesley, and he forthwith ordained a Bishop (Dr. Coke) to ordain their preachers, and had them organized as a Church. They were thus constitutionally established even before the colonies had adopted their own Constitution.

N. B.—We shall refer to the other portions of the *Magazine's* article hereafter. We should remind our readers, however, that we have published, not the whole of the article, but only a certain stipulated portion of it. For the rest, we must refer to the *Magazine* itself.

### III.

[From the *Methodist* of September 14.]

In our reply to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we have already reminded our readers that it but re-

peats, though with increased emphasis, the statements and arguments which we reviewed and disproved in some former papers. We must again refer to the latter for any fuller refutation of its charges. It would be an imposition on the reader to recite the statements there answered, and repeat their refutation in detail. Yet, this is all that would need to be done in order to meet completely the relash of the argument now given by the *Magazine*. The last three instalments from its pages, which we have inserted, and which remain for our notice, fill several columns, but, for the above reasons, we must review them rapidly, and here conclude the review. As a mere repetition, it is becoming tedious; we must treat it, therefore, with dispatch, though not with disrespect.

The third instalment from the *Magazine* (given in our number for August 3d) consists mostly of extracts from Wesley's famous *Calm Address to the Colonies*. They show that he was then decidedly opposed to the Revolutionary project. Of course they do. What else could be expected from a loyal Englishman, as he was at the time? But we have shown, from his letter to two of the cabinet ministers of George III., that after the events of Concord and Lexington, he changed his view of the contest, and declared that he was "convinced that then an oppressed people asked "nothing more than their legal rights, and that "in the most modest and inoffensive manner that "the nature of the thing would allow." These are his own words, authentically given from the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth—words which the historian, Bancroft, has taken special pains to give. Wesley proceeds to argue against the expediency of war on the part of Great Britain, and predicts the success of the Colonies.

Now, this important documentary evidence was under the eye of the editor of the *Magazine*, in the very book from which he quotes other things, and yet he continues to affirm:

"We say, plainly, that we never knew and do "not now know that Mr. Wesley ever ceased to "be loyal to the King of Great Britain, in the "broadest sense of the term; and that we never "knew and do not know now that he ever entertained the least sympathy for the American "Revolutionists or their cause, or ever, even by "implication, 'vindicated the Colonial cause.' "We say, also, just as plainly, that neither Dr. "Stevens nor *The Methodist*, nor both combined, "ever knew or now know any such thing of Mr. "Wesley; and that neither the historian of "Methodism nor its exponents in newspaper form "can produce any *authentic* testimony to establish "such an averment as *The Methodist* has thus put "forth."

Now, we ask again, what can be done with a



contestant like this?—a man who is professionally devoted to the collection and conservation of historical materials, and who, after a document like Wesley's letter to the British Ministers, is placed directly under his nose, utterly ignores the evidence, and furiously drives on with his wreckless asseverations? He does not dare to deny the authenticity of the document—that would be preposterous; he does not even mention it, though it is again and again thrust into his face; he simply ignores it, as if it had not been adduced, and vociferously writes on in the above strain.

The fourth and last instalment (given in our number for August 10th), like all that precedes it, is a repetition of charges which we have already answered. It relates to a vindication of Wesley by a preacher of John-street Society, New York, against the charge of disloyalty to his King. Of course, Wesley lived and died a loyal man, and the fact is honorable to his memory. The Society in New York was entirely isolated from the General Church during the war; the Conference sent no preachers to it, received no returns from it, had in fact held no communication with it. Its pulpit was supplied by an unordained local preacher, an Englishman. When Wesley was accused, in a New York paper, of inciting the famous "Lord Gordon" riot in London (an anti-Catholic riot), and of thereby showing disloyalty to his King, the New York preacher published letters from him, proving his hearty loyalty. These facts the *Magazine* cites as proof of his hostility to the Colonial cause!—a very funny syllogism certainly. One of the letters given does, however, bear on the war, but it is without date, and is evidently an old one, which had been in possession of the New York preacher, or some other person at hand, and was hunted up for the occasion, as proof that this recent New York slander was incompatible with the antecedents of Wesley. Wesley's letter to the Government in favor of the Colonies qualifies it entirely. He was always loyal to his King, like a good Christian, but disapproved the royal policy toward the Colonies.

So much, then, for this extravagant attack on American Methodism. After the full review we have heretofore given the *Magazine*, we need add no more. No Christian body of this nation has more demonstratively proved its loyalty than the Methodist Episcopal Church; none less needs vindication.

# X.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

61. GOVERNOR J. BELCHER, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO MR. SEC'Y WALDRON, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.\*

SIR,

I am glad to find by your's of 27: p'sent, That the Gov<sup>t</sup>: can do even accidental Good to the Province; I wish they wou'd mend their Wayes as well as the Roads; I long to See my Friends—have no Expectation from the Assembly, nor do I much concern myself about 'Em.

The Warrant is in this Day's *Gazette*—The P-st-m-st-r & his Lady lodge at Mad<sup>m</sup>'s Sister's, and I give him up for a gone Man.

I shall free the Young Man from his *prodigious* Uneasiness, and from Something else, if he does not learn more Sense.

I hope to see you at Haverhill on Fryday next, and am always,

Your Friend & Servant

J. BELCHER

BOSTON,

SEPT: 30; 1734

Mr. Sec'y WALDRON

- 62.—REV. J. H. LIVINGSTON TO ————†

NEW YORK 18 March 1784.

REVEREND & DEAR BROTHER

The affectionate and confidential Letter which you favored me with of the 1<sup>st</sup> Instant would have been answered immediately if I had not, when I received it, been very unwell & had the next day to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, since which I have had no conveyance to drop you a line. I was disappointed in not having the pleasure of seeing again & called at your Lodgings a little while after you left them upon your return home. That Evening—when I parted with you, the Gov<sup>ts</sup> of the College met and a Bill for erecting a University in the State of New York was read to us. many observations upon the Bill in the form it then bore were then made, and some alterations were strongly urged since which the Bill has remained and so many Acts of various kinds are constantly before the Legislature that this Bill has not yet been called for. the alterations insisted upon were not essential with respect to the Basis of the University but only the form in which the matter was managed. there is no opposition from any Quarter which Occasions the least doubt but the Busi-

\* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.



ness will be conducted with that spirit of catholicism & harmony which will insure a Litterary foundation of importance to the Church & State. as soon as the bill has obtained its proper alteration & gone through its different Stages, I will endeavor to obtain a Copy for you and send it over to you unless you should find Leisure to pay us a visit, which I wish may be in the end of some Week, so that you might spend a Sabbath here and assist me with a Sermon, which to me not only but to the whole Congregation would be very acceptable.

I congratulate you my dear friend upon the calls which you have received, which, whatever may be your determination with respect to acceptance, are doubtless very high testimonials of the public voice in your favor. your referring an answer to the Synod is very prudent & reflects honor to your judgment and piety,

You have my thanks for the extracts of Brother Hardenbergh's Letter and I fully agree with you that he is rather too positive & attached to his own private Judgment to make the result of his own opinion the test of Orthodoxy for others. for my part I wish only for information, & if I know my own heart I am perfectly impartial & without the least prejudice in favor of one place or Seat of Learning above another. my only enquiry is which place can be rendered most secure for maintaining our blessed truths unadulterated and which, provided there are several methods which in that respect are equally secure, is most easy, practicable and advantageous? I am too much a friend to the College at Brunswick to take up any argument against it, but if another door should be opened which will answer every purpose sooner and better I would desire to be such a friend to truth and providence as not to refuse an acceptance. you know my sentiments upon this head & I would wish not to conceal a thought on the subject from a Brother in whom I place the fullest confidence.

the repeated mention you have made about the necessity of forming a Classical meeting of the Southern district notwithstanding the Smallness of the Body has induced me to try if I can bring such a measure about; I have not yet seen Mr Schoonmaker of Gravesend, and whether Father Van Sinderen can attend, I do not know, but I shall endeavor to form the poor suffering congregations again into a body and get our Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions once more established. be assured of my most sincere regards & affection, and prayers for your welfare & future happiness. the Lord be with you and bless you. remember me at the throne of grace

Rev<sup>d</sup> & very dear Sir  
Your affectionate Brother  
J. H. LIVINGSTON.

have you received any Answer from Mr Van Voorhes? by a Letter from Dr Westerlo I find

that poor Dr Vroman is very weak again & will not probably labor much longer in the Vineyard. O that the Lord of the harvest would please to send out many new & useful Laborers! where is your nephew? I shod be glad as soon as he has fulfilled his previous engagements, that he would come to this City and preach for me.

63.—CHAS. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON, TO RICHARD CATON, ESQ.\*

1821 JULY 20—

DEAR SIR—

By my Books there were due two quarters divid<sup>d</sup> on U S 3 per ct Stock on 1<sup>st</sup> April last amounting to \$65<sup>75</sup> I am not certain if I gave you a minute of that sum—If those owing me interest & rents, & if the Bank of the U S should not make a larger divid<sup>d</sup> in Janry than during the present month, it will be impossible for me to pay my debt to the Mess<sup>rs</sup> Olivers, to continue the same annuities to my children, and to meet my own expenses.

I think it high time Th<sup>s</sup> Calwell should receive an answer from James Calwell, & that Mr Colt should get an answer from the persons, who applied to purchase the property mortgaged by Rob<sup>t</sup> Collet—When may I expect the money Graffin was to pay to discharge Herring's mortgage? When will the years interest \$120 due 15<sup>th</sup> May last from the Falls Turnpike be paid. Get Mr Foster to collect the monies of which I gave you a minute

We have had a fine rain this morning between 4 & 5 o'clocke I hope we shall have more; the corn, Tobacco, & young clover wanted rain, and more than has yet fallen here.

I hope your health is better than when you left me, and that my daughter and Mr<sup>s</sup> Patterson are well. My love to them—Mr<sup>s</sup> Patterson no doubt gave you my letter covering my letter to Mr Neth, ye letter to Mr Harper on the same subject, the printed advertisement, the certificate of Lot No 87, & check for \$110 to pay city taxes. Mr Harper left the business as you left it unfinished, tho' in his letter to me he promised to endeavour to get it settled; but after that letter I have reason to believe he thought no more of the matter.

When will the bricks, & plank, & scantling for the Catholic Chapel at Annapolis be forwarded to that city? On the 23<sup>d</sup> instant Taylor's to give possession of the Lot—

I am with sincere attachment

Dear Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most hum, Serv<sup>t</sup>

CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

\* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.



64.—SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, TO GOV. JEFFERSON.\*

PHILADELPHIA April 29, 1778.

SIR,

Your Excellency will receive inclosed a Resolve of Congress of the 20<sup>th</sup> Instant, recommending to these several States therein named to make good the Depreciation of the monthly Pay of the Officers & Soldiers belonging to Colonel Moses Hazens Regiment, that are considered as Part of those State Quotas, in the same Manner they have made good the depreciation to the Officers & Soldiers in the Battalions belonging to the Line of those States respectively—I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Your Excellency's most obedient  
humble Servant,

SAM. HUNTINGTON, President.

His Excellency  
GOVERNOR JEFFERSON

65.—MAJ. GEN. WM. HEATH, TO MAJ. GEN. W. PHILLIPS, OF THE BRITISH ARMY.†

HEAD QUARTERS BOSTON June 18, 1778.

SIR

Your Two favors of yesterday are before me. I gave Seasonable and Explicit orders for the reform of such Things as you represented to me as grievances in a former letter, and I dare say it will Done as soon as Circumstances will admit.

As Early as the 9<sup>th</sup> Instant I wrote to Capt Gooch that none of the Officers belonging to the 9<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> were to be Quartered at Hardwick That Letter some how unluckily miscarried. The Day before yesterday I received a Letter from him by Express representing that he was taking up Quarter in the Town of Hardwick but met with Opposition from some of the Inhabitants I wrote him back the same Evening to Desist from taking up Quarters in Hardwick and to Quarter the officers in Rutland.

You may be assured that I shall Endeavour to have the officers as well accommodated and as near to the men as circumstances will admit and Every attention will be paid to it. But where the Houses are scattering not withstand our wishes it will be impossible that some of them should not be at a distance from the men, and it never can under such Circumstances be Contrued any In-fraction of the Convention which does not require Impossibilities—you are undoubtedly right when you Protest against the removal of the Troops if you are instructed so to do, and I flatter myself that you will think me so when I remove them in

Consequence of Express orders received for that purpose from those whom it is my duty to obey.

I have received no directions relative to the Departure of the Troops of the Convention Neither am I authorized or can I make any proposition towards admitting the Troops going for Europe neither can I receive any on that Head, unless it be in order to their being forwarded to the Hon Congress You are sensible Sir upon what condition only that Hon Body have resolved that the Troops of the Convention shall Depart Agreeable to your desire I have delivered my self without the least reserve, upon those principals of Honor which it is my Determination shall Ever Mark my Conduct

I am Sir

Your Obt Serv<sup>t</sup>  
W HEATH

M GEN<sup>L</sup> PHILLIPS

66.—GENERAL M. GIST, TO CHEVALIER D'ANMOURS, CONSUL OF FRANCE.\*

CAMP, BUTTER MILK FALLS  
24 July 1779.

DEAR SIR

Before this reaches you I Suppose you will be informed of the Surrender of the British Garrison at Stony point, which consisted of two Companies of Grenadiers the 17 Reg<sup>t</sup> of Foot and Robinsons Corps—amounting in the whole (officers Included) to 606 men, 63 of which were Killed on the spot & 543 made prisoners, Including the wounded & 28 officers. On our side 15 were Killed—and between 70 & 80 wounded, which is more than we first Imagined.

The following Ordinance fell into our hands at the Fort (viz)

3	Brass 12 pounders on Travelling Carriages Compt.
1	Do 3 pounder
1	Do 10 Inch Mortar
1	Do 8 Inch Howitz
2	Do 5½ Inch Royals
2	Do 4½ Inch Cohorns
2	Iron 24 pounders
2	Do 18 Do
1	Do 12 Do with a large quantity of fixed amunition,
	Shot, Shell, Stores, &c. &c.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> an attack was Intended on their works at Verplancks point, under Command of Major General Howe, who was on the point of Investing it, when Sir Harry, with his main army of Plunderers, advanced so near as to be able to throw his succours to that Fortress which occasioned General Howe to retire to West Point without coming to action.

One of our Galleys on her return from Stony Point, was so effectually damag'd by the Enemy's fire from Verplancks, that the crew were oblig'd to desert her—after setting her on fire; since this we have Levelled the works on Stony Point and

\* From the original, belong to C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of Nath. Paine, Esq., of Worcester, Mass.



evacuated the post, which the Enemy have again taken possession of, with about 1500 men (among which are the 33<sup>d</sup> & 42 Regiments) under command of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sterling (lately promoted)—they have also reinforced their Garrison at Verplanks, and retired below Dobs's Ferry, with their Main Army.

We have received advice at this place that our Privateers from the Eastward have lately fallen in with a fleet from Cork, with Provisions for the British Army, of which they captured nine sail, several of which had arrived safe at Boston.

You will please to make me respectfully remembered to the French Gentlemen of my acquaintance in Balto & believe me, with due Regard

Dr Sir

yr. mo. obdt. servt.

M. GIST

CHEVALIER D'ANMOURS  
Consul of France.

67.—COLONEL BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO COLONEL WADSWORTH.\*

PINES BRIDGE July 3<sup>d</sup> 1780.

DEAR SIR

As Gen<sup>l</sup> Glover intends riding thro Hartford, I have only time to write you a line.

Two days ago a party of *Delanceys* Horse, together with *Frink's* Corps, came up as high as round hill & in their Circuit took a number of Cattle, but on their return Capt Sacket of this state, & a few of Col Barber's Levies, fell in with them, killed a few, & retook the Cattle. It is said that *Frink* was shot in the hip. Unfortunately for us a Detachment of near 60 of our Regt left the Plains but a little before the Rascals passed thro. We are as a Regt, tied down by special order on the north side of Croton. I am preparing for a small Expedition with about 80 or 100 down on the lines & I hope the next letter I send you may afford you some account of our attchievements—

Pray give me some good news from our Allies & with Compliments to your lady & friends, believe me

Yours Sincerely

BENJA TALLMIDGE.

COL WADSWORTH,

P. S.—Col Sheldon Presents his Compliments.

68.—DOCTOR RUSH TO MR. OWEN BIDDLE.†

DEAR SIR—

Agreeable to your request, I have drawn out our Acct but have left the sum to be allowed for

\* From the collection of Nath. Paine, Esq., Worcester, Mass.

† From the original, belonging to F. S. Hoffman, Esq., New York.

our Services to the generosity of the Committee of Safety. I beg leave only that the Surgeons in our provincial battallion are allowed 28 dollars and their Mates 18 dollars *Each* p. month. The Continental Surgeons are allowed nearly & their Mates Exactly the same each

Yours etc

B RUSH

[Addressed MR OWEN BIDDLE]

## XI.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF CITIZEN GENET.

I. — *Correspondence concerning his Recall to France.*

1.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, M. GENET, DATED "PARIS, MAY 16, 1796."

I have seen in the journals many Motions made to grant some exceptions to the Emigration law, in favor of individuals who from horror of tyranny have not returned to France, or who left it after the reign of Robespierre. These Motions have been referred to a Committee. There will be a report, and then a decree, which will fix a time for the reclamation of individuals or families; although I have not in a single instance acted for you or mentioned your name, my reason tells me that this will be an opportunity to take some action with the Legislative Committee. Mr. Monroe knows some of the members, Anguie others; it must not be that a Decree should hang over so good a citizen as you—in this event I will go to Paris, and will act with prudence, that is to say in speaking to your true friends and you have many—They have preserved a great friendship for you at Versailles; even at the moment when you were torn to pieces in the journals, two administrators of the District very zealous patriots stopped me in the street to say to me, "Citizen do not fear any of the horrors that they charge upon your brother, they are jealous and wicked people, we love him we esteem him, and we shall always feel honored to have him for a fellow citizen." These sentiments are very general in that City.

2.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, AUGUST 20, 1796.

Our uncle is a little better—but this Winter may be his last. At the moment of inheriting, if this brave man arrives at the End of his peaceable career, some steps must be taken, or the nation may interfere in our affairs, on your account—During my sojourn at Paris, at the house of Mr. Monroe, I wrote to Freron praying him to receive me, that We might consult together upon



the means of preventing a citizen such as you are, from being considered an *Emigre*, for it seems to me, that the decree always Weighs on you. Freron did not answer—the Deputies do not receive anyone; they fear to compromise themselves, Mr Monroe advised me to wait.

3.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, FEBRUARY 8, 1797.

I have taken an active part relative to your affairs, before long I hope there will be a suitable decision on the part of the government on your account, Mr Monroe will give you the details, for in a few months he will be in America his Embassy being finished.

4.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, MARCH 8, 1797.

Mr & Mrs Monroe, are about to leave for New York. There they will see that brother so dear, so tenderly loved, the pleasure of living near whom I have been deprived of for ten cruel years. Life is too thickly strewed with pains and privations—it is a cruel secret that one learns in making a Voyage, in which will can neither advance, nor carry you back a single step. Pardon this little outbreak of sentimentality and morality, but I cannot see persons leaving who will see you, and hear you speak, without being moved to a point which draws me out of my usual mode of expression. I regret Mrs Monroe very much, she is a rare woman in every way who has acquired a general respect and friendship in France. You will see my Eliza, who is full of wit and agreeable talents, and who I love as my own Daughter. Embrace her tenderly for me.

5.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, JUNE 20, 1797.

The Minister La Croix and the Minister Cochon, charged with the Police have both told me that they would report on what concerned you as absent.

6.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN, OCTOBER 28, 1797.

The steps you have taken, and which I never should have lowered myself to take towards men who are indebted to me morally and materially, and to whom I owe nothing, merits all my gratitude—I will only say that the word "recall," which is used in your Petition, is not well founded. I was assassinated, meanly displaced, and never recalled. They even ordered me to render my accounts to my successor, which I did in an honorable manner, which he and all those who came with him and after him, have said, and will say, have written and will write; and which my

present Poverty confirms too well—I detest speculation, commerce even, which requires what I have not, money, and love of money; and I only find charms in liberty, peace, and the purity of rural life.

7.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, JULY 26.

I see that you are ignorant of the steps I have thought it my duty to take in order that Justice may be done to your situation—These steps were simple, as they ought to be for a cause which has no need of a pleader—The Minister La Croix had answered me that it was just, and that he would give it his attention—The Minister Cochon the same. Since eight days they are no longer in place; and it is necessary to begin again. They speak of a family petition. If it is necessary, they will do so.

8.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN, MAY 20, 1798.

You have wished it and I have obeyed the counsels of your friendship—After five years of silence I have written to the Directory; and I charge my friend collaborer and partner in persecution, Citizen Capua with the letter. I leave it open so that you can read it and inform those other generous people who take an interest in my fate of what it contains.

You can agree with Capua and my friends upon the means of bringing the Directors to repair the injustice of the Reign of Terror—My demand is indefinite. I have made it so designedly. I have wished neither to extend or restrain the act of Equity which I claim—but I shall be content if I receive with some consoling expression, the official assurance that I am not considered as an *Emigre*.

9.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, APRIL 1, 1799.

In a very few days, and without any delay, dear friend, we will send you the Decree that concerns you. I commence by saying to you that it is given by the opinion and the esteem of all the members of the Government—Directory, Ministers, Member of the Council: if there are any who oppose you they are very much in the shade, for your relations cannot find them—This pronouncement of the Directory was made and ready to sign when your Petition was presented—but at the last labor of Charles Deuval, Minister of Police, on the subject, a difficulty arose which adjourned the travail.

Citizen Rion, a Deputy from the Department of Fieresterre, was kind enough to conduct me to Citizen Deuval—It was his day to receive the Deputies and we were three hours waiting our turn—



I was sorry to cause him the loss of so much time because he works a great deal ; but he has exhibited a zeal and activity in the matter which is perfect and he loves you much although he does not know you. Charles Deuval said to me, "Citizen," "you present yourself with a very fine Cause. Some "indispensible formalities have alone retarded, "what we all desire—I have known Citizen Genet "and I have endured in France, the misfortunes "of persecution, such as they attempt in America. "We have conversed about you"—He then desired me to go to find the Chief of Division, who was to make the report, and to ask for it for the twenty-second of March.

10.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, SEPTEMBER 12, 1799.

I do not know if the resolution of the late Directory, which recalled you, has reached you. I have not received a letter from you since an answer written to one from me in July, 1798.

11.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN, MARCH 20, 1800.

The official communication of my recall has not yet been made ; and some events which with another people would have embraced many Centuries, here precipitated themselves so rapidly since that act of strict justice has been done, that my mind, weakened by a mode of life, simple only, having for its support uncertain gifts of Providence and incomplete relations, cannot yet seize the whole of them to fathom their objects : My heart nevertheless, which has always burned with patriotism notwithstanding all the wrongs of my country towards me, would break through these clouds, would smooth down these doubts, would traverse the seas and dissipate the rest of the *debris* of a little fortune expended in the service of the State, to go to see once more and embrace all those who are dear to me in France, if my reason did not counsel me to trace some more furrows in the peaceable fields of America, while waiting for further news from you, while awaiting more facts ; and to enjoy upon my farm, the domestic happiness with which Providence has recompensed the purity of my intentions.

The health of Cornelia\* would be all that I could wish, if a fatal loss did not weigh upon her. Madame Clinton†—her Mother, her friend, and mine,—has just been taken from us. She died in my arms three days since, giving to her children the most touching example of virtue, and piety, and true courage—After paying to her our last duty, all our cares have been directed to the good General.‡ He charges me to excuse him

to you, if he does not respond to your charming letter ; to say to you that he has received with the most lively gratitude the bust of the extraordinary man who has fixed the eyes of the world upon him and who holds in his hands the happiness or the misery of humanity—

12.—M. GENET TO M. MONROE, DATED JULY, 12th 1800.

I reading over, lately, some old letters of my sister, Mad<sup>e</sup> Campan, I saw that she had taken the liberty of charging you with a cabarat of Sevres porcelain for me, this little *euroi* should be with your baggage ; and my wife believes that she remembers that M<sup>d</sup>e. Monroe told her, when she passed through New York, that it would arrive momentarily—Since then we have nothing from it, and we unite in asking you to inform us of its fate—I have learned with great pleasure your election to the government of Virginia—Perhaps you will also feel some interest in learning that the Directory of the French Republic has recalled me, as I should have been in 1794, in the most honorable and the most consoling manner.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my most respectful attachment, and also be kind enough to present our homages to M<sup>d</sup>e Monroe and our friendship to the charming Eliza.

13.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, M. GENET, JULY 17, 1800.

It is now eighteen months, dear Friend, since we have received any news from you except indirectly—It is now fifteen months since your Government recalled you to the bosom of your Country—The Minister and your family sent you that dispatch in quadruple copies—Has anyone reached you ?—Your silence as well as your determination leaves us in ignorance of it. Judge of our pain in remembering our attachment, which time and distance have not weakened. We shall pass then a part of the voyage on this life without seeing you—What a privation.

14.—MR. MONROE TO M. GENET.

RICHMOND, July 30<sup>th</sup> 1800

DEAR SIR

I lately received your favor of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst, and was much gratified, to hear of yours and the health of your lady—Mrs Monroe is now in the Country whither she was carried by the attention which was due to the health of our youngest child, which as it was cutting teeth and had the whooping cough it was necessary to move to a purer air.

The box of porcelain which was intrusted to us by our amiable friend M<sup>d</sup>e Campan for you, was carried with our baggage to Albemarle, where it has since remained unpacked—I would have for-

\* Mrs. Genet.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

† Mrs. Clinton, wife of Governor George Clinton, and mother of Mrs. Genet.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

‡ Governor George Clinton, who had been, also, a General in the army of the Revolution.—Ed. HIST. MAG.



warded it to you long since, but declined it lest in the then state of the public mind it might be considered as the proof of Conspiracy against the Government and of a Treasonable Correspondence with France, &c. I shall however hasten to have it brought here and forwarded to the care of some friend in New York of which you shall be advised.

I am happy to hear your Govt has recalled you to its own and the bosom of your friends—As a friend to free government, your name will be recorded in the history of the present day; and your patient submission to the censures you incurred in the station of a frugal and industrious farmer will be a proof of the uprightness of your heart and integrity of your conduct, while a victim to pure principles—I considered it my duty not to injure your fame or detract from your merit while I was in France, but to anticipate and prevent as far as I could any ill effect which your collision with our Govt might produce in the French Councils—It was natural, had you returned, that you should have gone into a detail with your Govt of the incidents attending your mission, and more than probable that the communications you would have made to it would have increased the jealousy which it then entertained of the views of ours. It was my desire and endeavor to dissipate completely all those jealousies, and to bring the French Govt into a system of conduct towards us through the whole of the war, great and magnanimous, which would have done it honor to the latest posterity—I have no particular reason to conclude you would not have united in such a plan, other than the strength of human passion and the knowledge I had you thought you were injured.

Hence I was persuaded your return at the time might be injurious and was in fact adverse to it—But I did not oppose it by any direct or indirect agency. But such was the state of things growing out of my standing with the principal members of the Govt that they would take no steps in it without speaking to me on it—When the subject was opened I was always silent, testifying in favor of your integrity only; and thence it was inferred, and truly, I was opposed to your return at the time. The whole of this has passed and is only interesting to ourselves. I too have had my day of suffering. I served with zeal the cause of Liberty and my Country, and was requited by every act of injustice which could be rendered me short of imprisonment and death—This too has passed, tho' it can never be remembered by me but with disgust. Be so good as to make my best regards to your lady, to which I add with pleasure those of Mrs M., who will be happy to hear of her, and believe me

Sincerely your friend and servt

JAS MONROE.

15.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN,  
DATED JAMAICA, L. I., JULY 4, 1801.

Many occasions present themselves at once of writing to you, my faithful Friend, and I take advantage of them to speak to you a little more freely than I have dared to do for a long time—Pichon has sent me your letter of the 29th November last and has since come to see me—We have conversed much about France, where he presses me to return, where he pretends that I will be well received by the Minister: that I would promptly receive the recompense of my former service. Deceived by friendship, blinded by his illusions, he has not considered that at the very moment he was speaking the Revolutionary globe was making perhaps a movement of rotation which would reverse all his calculations. The letter that the Monseigneur Talleyrand wrote to me, by order of the Directory, already belongs to another Century. My services have a still greater antiquity; they were rendered at the end of the Monarchy to the Republic. Would they give me any right to favors and these favors, what price would they put upon them? What doubts, what dangers, what hazards, for the father of a family to incur when the slightest prudence might plunge me into an abyss of misfortune. Yet if I was assured without compromising my principals, without lowering myself, without degrading myself by vile solicitations, of being again useful to my country and of being able to ameliorate the lot of my wife and children, I would resign myself to resume the chains which eight years of independence and happiness have taught me to despise; but as that hypothesis is not very probable, as my feeble talents do not merit to be distinguished in the crowd, as my opinions have been too pronounced perhaps in favor of liberty, it seems to me that I ought to continue to consider myself as politically dead, and ought not to entertain, except under the sole relation [*rapport*] of fraternal love and friendship the probability of my return to a people whom I have idolized, but whose continual ingratitude to its most faithful public servants must inevitably deliver over to the enemies of its rights—*Malheur aux peuple recomapante*—Misfortune to a grateful people, said Mirabeau to them—They believed him and would have assassinated him if he had lived a little longer—

16.—M. GENET TO MR. MONROE.

JAMAICA, Augt 10, 1800.

SIR

I have received by post the letter you have had the kindness to write to me the 30th July—It contains some things which have enlightened me, flattered me, filled me with admiration for your talents, with respect for your candor, with esteem for your patriotism, and with contempt for those



who for silly reasons of State have had the sterile cruelty to abandon a faithful agent to the iniquitude, to the rancor, of a foreign government. But there is found in that letter a suspicion that you have nourished, that others of your fellow citizens have without doubt conceived, and which wounds me too deeply not to hasten to destroy it—You feared if I returned to France, the force of human passion and sensitiveness to injuries with which I was loaded would prevent me from joining myself to those who were seeking to bring France to adopt towards this country, magnanimous and generous measure. Imbued with this idea you adroitly allowed to grow blunted and die the desire that they testified to you to make reparation for the atrocious injustice which had made me flee a country, then ferocious, to seek here repose in the obscurity of isolation and emptiness. You were in error, Sir. Permit me to convince you of it by a simple exposition of the following facts. More attached than to my own glory, to the success of the grand liberal magnanimous Treaty, which I had suggested, reduced, proposed the basis, and the negotiation of which had not yet been seriously placed in any hands but mine, at the same time when my passions, irritated in every sense by the contradictions, the disgusts, were most exalted, I buried in secret the most justificatory portions of my instructions, so that the appearance of wrong, if it existed, should fall on me alone, in my official relations—I was the first to offer myself to France as a victim to calm your Washington; supposing there was but one virtue wanting to him, that of knowing how to forgive. When the the Members of the Committee of Public Safety, allured by the bait contained in the official letter of Mr Jefferson, would have deposed me without examination or inquiry of the recompenses that I had acquired by eighteen years of service in the career of Foreign Affairs, by loyal conduct from the commencement of the Revolution; and as a climax of atrocity, would have demanded me from your Government for fear that my blood might not be mingled with that of their proscribed, I held to the satellite of those monsters who disclosed that infamy to me, the language which an imperturbable attachment to the Union of our two peoples would have dictated, and I excited him to fulfill his sanguinary orders if he believed them to be useful. When satiated with the troubles and fatigues of political tempests, I disrobed myself to the world. I did not cease to form, with all my soul, vows for the maintainance of concord—Finally, when the savage discourses pronounced in your Congress, when the inhospitable laws which have been the result, offered no other alternative to the French Republicans spread over this Continent than flight, chains, or death, I addressed to the Directory a letter which was carried to it by one of my former co-laborers, to engage them to

throw a fraternal regard on our position and as unfortunately, I could not speak of myself without speaking also of politics, I profited by that occasion to say to those chiefs of the Empire not to listen to their resentments, and to seek only in the bosom of moderation means to ameliorate the future. My letter, coming from a pen, of which time had taken care to make known the veracity, was read attentively: it did no injury to those who have since held the language of peace; and if I deceive myself with that illusion my heart refuses to destroy it.

May these details preserve me your friendship; give you some regret for having been obliged by your place to contribute to having lost to the cause of liberty seven years of the life of a man who cherished it; and efface the last doubt on your mind of my attachment to the good American People, who distinguishing with equity the public man from the private man, covered me with the ægis of its laws, whilst mine, which I had served with all my faculties, wished them to be violated to punish me with assassination for having obeyed its supreme will.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my devotion the most sincere and the most respectful,

GENET.

NOTE.—If you see Mr. Giles, dear Sir, please tell him I shall never forget all his kindness to me and his precious confession in the Winter of '93-'94; but that I wonder how it came to pass that the 25<sup>th</sup> of May '97, he thought proper to lift up the tomahawk and the hatchet against my political ghost in Congress. Had I not torments enough? Another Citizen, in a late passion, has not spared me much more; but the revolutionary tribunal of his heart involved all my successors in the sentence; and we were jointly accused of being totally deficient in latent and diplomatic skill—a judgment which if swallowed down by the French Government as mine was by Robespierre, might have deprived them of their living—I could mention also a number of Republican scribblers electioneering stuff, and pamphlets proudly decorated with the majestic title of History, which would have deeply corroded my wounds, had I possessed less philosophy; but as is said in the song of the dying Indian: "The son of Alhomah has scorned complaint."

17.—M. GENET TO MR. MONROE.

JAMAICA, Jan. 1, 1803.

DEAR SIR:

The very prudent motives which prevented you, under the administration of Mr. Adams, to forward the set of China you had the kindness to bring from France existing in all probability no more, I take the liberty to put you in mind of that small object before your departure for the Continent;



and to request you to send it to New York, to the care of John Broome, Merchant, Hanover Square. Though sensible of the injustice I had suffered here, but distrusting my generosity, you have, dear Sir, employed your influence to prevent my undeceived and repenting fellow citizens from recalling me honorably after your Government had obtained from their ignorance the punishment of my fidelity to their own full orders. I wish you well. I have heard your appointment with great pleasure, and hope your new embassy will be crowned with every desirable success for the good of this country, the last refuge of true liberty.

GENET.

18.—MR. MOMROE TO M. GENET.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5th 1803.

DEAR SIR:

I have yours of the 29<sup>th</sup> ult, and have the pleasure to inform you that when lately in Richmond I sent round the box of China belonging to you, with some boxes of my own, to New York, to the care of Mr Gelston the Collector. On my arrival at New York which I expect will be about the 13<sup>th</sup>, it shall be separated from my baggage and placed as you direct. You have, I think, very much mistaken the import of a former letter from me to you, relative to my conduct towards you while in France. You certainly entertain an impression very different from the fact; be the letter what it may—Nothing ever escaped me, or was to be inferred from my deportment, unfriendly to you—Your nearest connections can satisfy you on that point. I meant to state to you that my situation laid a restraint on me, so as to prevent my promoting the object of your recall and to impose a reserve, in certain cases, where, had I been free to act, the good opinion I entertained of your moral and political principles might have suggested a greater freedom of action—I never mentioned you in my life, but in terms of respect, as a friend of your country and of liberty I found, by your former letter, that you had mistaken my idea on the subject, and should have put you right had I not wished not to multiply communications in the then state of the p. office (according to report) upon a subject which it would be easy in a short communication to place on its true ground—I hope to see you in New York, and will be happy to have your commands to your friends in France. Mrs Monroe is now in New York. With respectful compliments to Mrs Genet,

I am sincerely

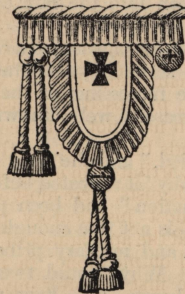
Yours

JAS. MONROE.

## XII.—THE CROSS AS AN ANCIENT AMERICAN SYMBOL.

By HON. THOMAS EWBANK.

In the Mexican Tribute tables (*Talegas*), small pouches or bags frequently occur. Appendages to dress, they are tastefully formed and ornamented with fringe and tassels. A Cross of the Maltese or more ordinary form is conspicuously woven or painted on each. They appear to have been in great demand; a thousand bundles (*mil atados*) being the usual Pueblo tax. Some were made of the Maguey plant (*de papel*), others, probably for the higher classes, were set off with precious stones (*piedras finas*). The figures of a couple are subjoined:



See *Cordillera de los pueblos que antes de la Conquista Pagaban Tributo a' el Emperador Moctezuma y en que especie y cantidad*. Plates 5, 6, 16, 22, 29; *History of New Spain*, by Don T. A. Lorenzand. Mexico, 1770.

The practice of marking the cross on their persons and wearing it on their garments was once common with some, if not with all, the occupants of the Southern Continent. I am indebted to Dr. Davis for the following interesting extract from Martin Dobrizhoffer, a missionary in South America, from 1749 to 1767, and author of *The History of the Abipones of Paraguay*; London, 1822. He says: "They tattoo themselves by pricking the skin with a thorn. They all wear the form of a cross impressed on their foreheads, and two small lines at the corner of each eye, extending toward the ears, besides four transverse lines at root of the nose, between the eyebrows, as National marks. . . . What these figures signify, and what they portend, I cannot tell, and the Abipones themselves are no better informed on the subject. They only know that this custom was handed down to them by their ancestors, and that is sufficient. "I saw not only a cross marked on the foreheads of all the Abipones, but likewise black crosses woven in the red woollen garments of



"many. It is a very surprising circumstance that they did this before they were acquainted with the religion of Christ, when the significance and merits of the cross were unknown to them." E.

### XIII.—HOOKER'S CAMPAIGN REVIEWED.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, VA., }  
 Wednesday, May 13, and  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1863. }

President Lincoln, accompanied by General Halleck, last week, made a visit to the Commanding General of the Army of the Potomac; and since his return a semi-official utterance has been communicated to the public press, amounting as the result of his investigation into the late campaign that the President is "*satisfied*."

General Hooker a few days ago issued a congratulatory order on the seven days' operations, in which he says that the recrossing of the Rappahannock was "for reasons well known to the *army*."

Mr. Lincoln "*satisfied*," and the army "*knowing well the reason why*" it retreated before a foe whose "*certain destruction*" had been promised three days previously—is not that enough? So at least have the political and military principalities and powers judged. Why should twenty million longing, anxious hearts, who have no other interest in knowing what has happened and how it stands with that army save that *their* sons and brothers make part of that bloody hecatomb of twelve thousand souls,—why should *they* be enlightened? Is it not enough that Mr. Lincoln is satisfied, and that the army knows why?

And now, lest this army, which knows so much, should communicate what it knows to the country, it is judged advisable to hermetically seal it, and isolate the army from the country, the country from the army. The public mind, plunged in darkness—not "*satisfied*," and not knowing "*the reason why*"—is a prey to doubts and to fears worse than any reality of disaster, inasmuch as present fears are less than horrible anticipations. This season of darkness and uncertainty is the opportunity of bad men; and now, as Milton said of a similar period in his own time: "The whole flock of noisome and timorous birds with those that fear the morning, hover about, and in their senseless gabble, prognosticate a day of sects and schisms."

Whether Mr. Lincoln was really "*satisfied*" at the time, (and back of that, whether he had the opportunity in the course of a gossipy lunch with General Hooker and the corps commanders—he had no other opportunity of seeing the latter—to arrive at any conclusion, satisfactory or otherwise), and whether he has, since then, had occasion to be dis-

satisfied, are questions which, for the nonce, may as well be waived. But as to the other statement—that the army knows why it recrossed the Rappahannock—I beg leave to say that there never was a more unfortunate assertion, for if there ever was a thick, hopeless, impenetrable *mystery* common to a hundred thousand men, and to every individual man in the hundred thousand—a universal mystery, extending from corps commander to the meanest private, it is *why that army recrossed the Rappahannock*.

I have for many months been a careful student of the interior moods of the Army of the Potomac, and think to have acquired the faculty of catching its spirit. I never saw it as it is now. It is not what is called "*demoralized*." It is puzzled, bewildered—in a state of mental chaos. The men say they were not "*whipped*;" that they could have gone on any day—Friday, Saturday, Sunday—and smashed the rebel army; that less than one-half of our whole force was engaged; that any of the three positions we held—the position of Friday and Saturday, the position of Sunday, or the position of Monday—was impregnable; that there was no lack of supplies, and no sign of rain till twelve hours after the order for the retreat was given;—and they ask *why they were ordered to retreat!* No man can give the shadow of a reason, and General Hooker tells the army that *they* know well why.

### II.

Before proceeding with the recital of what a week's assiduous study of the late campaign on the spot, and contact with the leading commanders in the army, have taught me, I wish to make a word of reference to my last letter published in the *Times*, of the fifth instant, as it has been copied by nearly all the leading journals of the country.

I left headquarters at Chancellorsville between five and six o'clock of Sunday morning, May 3, and took the cars at Falmouth for Washington via Acquia Creek at eleven A. M., bringing intelligence of events up to date. I had, therefore, a personal experience of affairs only up to that time. I had seen all the preliminary movements attending the throwing of the main body of the army to Chancellorsville. I had seen the events of Friday, when we were feeling the enemy, and of Saturday, when the enemy were feeling us. I witnessed Jackson's bold attack on our right flank at seven o'clock of Saturday evening, when he turned our position and routed the Eleventh Corps. Remaining on the ground with the commander during the night watches, I saw the new dispositions of his troops which General Hooker was obliged in consequence to make—contracting his right and drawing it from Hunting Creek, where it rested, a mile nearer the river. I left on Sunday morning, just as



Lee again opened the day by a renewed attack on our extreme right. Riding over the interval of seventeen miles that separates Chancellorsville from Falmouth, I saw, as I neared Fredericksburgh, from the commanding heights on the Falmouth side, Sedgwick's Sixth corps (which had the day before worked its way up from the crossing, two miles below, and taken possession of Fredericksburgh) developed on the plain in the rear of the town, on the same ground where Sumner's men last December suffered such slaughter. I saw the heroic line charge up those heights—a sight never to be forgotten by me—and gallantly take those formidable works.

Such is what I personally knew at the date of my writing. I shared, in common with every man in the army, the joy and hope inspired by the brilliant manner in which the preliminary operations were conducted by General Hooker. I expressed this sentiment with ardor. I have nothing of all this to retract. *Quid scribitur scribetur.* Unhappily, what was true up to a certain point, ceases at that point to be true. Superb in his combinations up to the time of meeting the enemy, the moment he confronted that enemy he failed utterly—wilted and withered as it were. The immediate staff and advisers of General Hooker all marked, with special wonder, the interior change which overcame him like a Summer cloud. I leave aside all attempt to explain this psychical phenomenon, or explore whether it arose from defects inherent in his mind, or whether it was an abnormal and exceptional action. The melancholy fact remains that, after the first stages, his course was ill-advised and unfortunate throughout. It was not only bad—it was the worst possible; and in all the cardinal operations, where there were a half-dozen different modes of action, he not only chose a bad course—he chose the *only bad course*.

I make these statements, and proceed to substantiate them, with the greatest pain and reluctance. Since the day when, on receipt of the tidings of the retreat, I left New York and came to the army, confident that I should find material for a full and clear defence of General Hooker's conduct, I have desired nothing so much as to be able to make that defence. With opportunities of information accorded, perhaps, to no one else, official or unofficial, and with a diligent use of these opportunities, during the past six days, it only remains to acknowledge that I am unable to make out a shadow of a case. I have been able to see no one, in any station, who thinks General Hooker's conduct capable either of explanation or of justification. I am bound, further, to say that it is the clear and assured sentiment of the army that we owe it to him alone that, with victory positive in his hands, he should have allowed that victory to drop from his grasp; and to him alone we owe

that all the lavish expenditure of the rich bloodwine of the nation's life, and all the precious, priceless value of this army should have been in vain—alas! in vain!

This is not a case for epithets or rhetoric. It is too deep for that. I hope to write calmly, and I shall leave out much—much more than I shall set down. I give the facts. Let the country draw its own inference: the army has drawn *its*.

### III.

In my letter of last week I gave, with great fullness of detail, the history of the concentration of the army at Chancellorsville, and the movements of the other column in the vicinity of Fredericksburgh. There is, therefore, here, no occasion for anything more than the briefest reference to times and places.

On Thursday evening, when General Hooker, having left his old Headquarters to take the field, rode up to Chancellorsville, he found concentrated at that point four army corps, the Second, (Couch,) the Fifth, (Meade,) the Eleventh, (Howard,) and the Twelfth, (Slocum.) The Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth corps had crossed the Rappahannock by one of the upper fords, (Kelly's,) and the Rapidan at Germanna and Ely's fords, and having thus uncovered United States Ford, enabled the Second and other corps which might be thrown up from below, to make the passage at that point. These four corps had reached Chancellorsville on Thursday night, and the Third corps (Sickles') was ordered to have the head of its column at the United States Ford by seven o'clock the next morning.

The other two corps of the seven corps that compose the army of the Potomac, namely, the First, (Reynolds) and Sixth, (Sedgwick,) remained meanwhile below Fredericksburgh, to perform the role assigned them.

By this rapid, secret and brilliant movement Lee was thoroughly surprised. There can be no doubt whatever of this. The proof of it is furnished by such material evidence as that the rebels were picketing the Rappahannock after we had crossed the Rapidan, but still more clearly by the documentary evidence found in the note from General Lee, discovered in the Chancellor House, (and which I gave in my former letter,) announcing to the rebel Commandant of the Post, that (eighteen hours after we had crossed) he (Lee) had just heard of our having made the passage.

At the time of this concentration of our force on Chancellorsville, what was the distribution of the rebel army?

And let me remark, in passing, that General Hooker had very thorough information on this point—knowing the precise location of every regiment, brigade, division and corps in the rebel army, and even down to the exact kind, quantity and quality



of rations issued that morning from every rebel brigade-commissary.

The Confederate centre rested on Fredericksburgh, thus throwing their right down the Rappahannock, their left up. Jackson's corps was distributed along a line of fifteen miles, down to Port Royal, where their extreme right, formed by Early's division, rested. The left wing rested on United States and the upper fords, where two brigades, under command of General Anderson, were stationed.

We return to our own position. It is Friday morning. Five of our corps are concentrated at Chancellorsville.

From Chancellorsville to Fredericksburgh is ten miles. From the former place two excellent plank-roads run out, coming together four miles on, at Tabernacle Church, and thence continuing in a united line in Fredericksburgh.

It was General Hooker's original intention to push on and establish his headquarters that very night at Tabernacle Church, making that the point of concentration of the army. Well it had been for us if he had done so! You will see that this would have uncovered Banks' ford, thus shortening the line of communication between the main body and Sedgwick by eight miles, (four on each side of the river.) You will also see that it would have given us possession of one of the two rebel lines of retreat—namely, the Gordonsville line, thus depriving them of all means of retreat, if Stoneman should do his work.

General Hooker, however, did not see fit to push on, but remained during all Friday and Saturday at Chancellorsville. Here he issued his order announcing that "the enemy must ingloriously fly, "or come out from behind his defences and give "us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him."

This boast, so much in the style of Hooker, who is characterized by more than the *gloriosa Francisca*, was dwelt upon and amplified by the whole tenor of his conversation. "The rebel army," said he, "is now the legitimate property of the "Army of the Potomac: they may as well pack "up their haversacks and make for Richmond, "and I shall be after them," etc., etc.

Friday was spent by General Hooker in intrenching the line he had established at Chancellorsville, and in throwing out a few reconnoitering parties. Meade, with two divisions, at noon pushed out on the plank-road as far as the Decker House, within one mile of Banks' ford, *saw no enemy, and was ordered to retire*. Sykes, with his division of regulars, (Meade's corps,) pushed out on the old plank-road, met a force of the enemy, drove him elegantly for a mile and a half, doing one of the finest bits of fighting during the whole course of the war, was left entirely without support, and was finally ordered to retire

—Hancock's division of Couch's corps being sent out to cover the withdrawal.

Every intelligent officer begged the Commanding General to allow the army to push on and hold the front gained by these reconnoitering parties. It was urged, in the warmest terms, that the occupation of this fine position would, as I have before said, uncover Banks' Ford, otherwise held by the enemy, thus reducing our line of communication with Sedgwick by eight miles—that it would give us command of dominating heights which, if we did not hold, the enemy would to our disadvantage; that it would take us out of this densely wooded region, in which it is very difficult to manœuvre troops, and bring us in connection with and commanding the open country on the posterior slope of the Fredericksburgh heights, which it was hoped Sedgwick would soon hold, and which he did really soon hold.

It was in vain that these considerations, whose supreme importance must be apparent from even a momentary glance at the strategic topography of the region, were urged by the ablest heads. General Hooker had assumed a perilous defensive, and was waiting for the enemy to attack him "on ground of his own selection."

You know what Saturday's work was. He lay by, doing nothing; and the enemy was engaged during the day in threatening our lines at various points for the purpose of gaining time for concentration. By Saturday evening this was completed; and at seven o'clock Jackson made his brilliant assault on our right—coming on in columns of attack by battalion with two company front. You know the result. Deven's division held the extreme right, with Von Gilsa's brigade as a knob. These men, without receiving a shot from the enemy, leaped out of their breastworks, fell back on their own division, which was thrown on Schurz's division, which, in turn, rolled back on Stienwehr's division, and the whole corps, in an incredibly short space of time, was in rout and confusion.

From this rapid glance we see that, while our forces reached Chancellorsville on Thursday, it was Saturday evening before any serious attack was made on either side. *Forty-eight hours were thus allowed Lee during which to concentrate his forces and prepare either to attack or to repel attack*. Hours to us, but ages to him. And what excellent use he made of this season soon became evident. Troops were hurried up from down the river as far as Port Royal, from Bowling Green, from Richmond; and by Saturday night, Lee had his army entire in his hands, massed opposite ours, leaving only Early's division to guard the heights of Fredericksburgh.

What was the strength of the rebel army? Their entire force opposite both the main body of the



army and opposite Sedgwick's column, is set down by General Hooker at *seventy thousand men*. If we are to credit official figures, already made public, our own number would be carried to almost *double* that.

Sunday's operations can be briefly summed up. After the repulse of the Eleventh corps, our right wing had been contracted and brought down a mile. Early on Sunday morning, the First corps (Reynolds') arrived at Chancellorsville, having the day previously come up from below Fredericksburgh. We now occupied a long front, five miles in length, approximating to an obtuse triangle, the right resting on Hunting Creek, at a point opposite Ely's Ford; the left (as before) on the Rappahannock, between Banks' and the United States Ford. The rebels made their first attack at five o'clock in the morning, and they made two subsequent attacks, the contest at Chancellorsville ending at twelve o'clock. Their mode of attack was in each case the same. We formed a long weak line. They massed in solid column; and throwing themselves on our front with all the momentum acquired by the mass multiplied by the velocity, broke the line with ease.

There was noble fighting on the part of our soldiers during that day. But nothing could make up for the radically vicious tactical disposition of our forces. *Less than one-half of our troops were thrown into action—the First and Fifth Corps not having been engaged at all!*

The feebleness and indecision which had marked the conduct of General Hooker during the two previous days, now became still more painfully apparent. At the very moment when vigor, dash, and fire were indispensable, he became timid and halting. It was all along thought that if there was one quality which General Hooker might with perfect safety be relied upon to display, it was the quality of *fight*. It was always assumed that he would throw all his men into the contest, and not allow a battle to fail by holding back. And yet here was precisely where he failed, and corps commanders begged in vain to be thrown in and a vigorous attack made!

It must go on the record against General Hooker, that not a military head here but believes that, with a proper disposition of our forces that would have called all our strength into play in a very vigorous offensive, we might, any time that day, have severed the enemy, turned, enveloped and destroyed him. General Hooker was, as you have doubtless heard, during the early part of that day, struck by a portion of a pillar of the Chancellor House, (against which he was leaning,) and which was carried away, throwing him violently down. General Couch, the senior Major-General, thus came temporarily into command for an hour; and it is a current saying that *if Hooker had remained insensible for another hour, Couch would have*

*whipped the enemy*. And, in fact, any one who would simply have allowed the Corps Commander to go on *would* have whipped the enemy.

The day ended with fresh contraction of our lines, the right wing being drawn down a mile.

Before pushing matters on the right any further, however, it is necessary to look in the direction of Fredericksburgh, and see what is transpiring there, during this same time.

#### IV.

The original plan of a division of the army into two portions—the enemy occupying the interior line—was one that never inspired much confidence in a successful issue. Much, however, would depend on special conditions—on prudence, vigor, and co-operation. We shall presently see that, dangerous though such a step generally is, there was nothing in the division of the force which a sound head might not have turned to account; that it proved disastrous only from a violation of all military principles; and that the Fredericksburgh column was saved from utter destruction only by the admirable skill and stout heart of its commander, General Sedgwick, and the dauntless pluck of that Sixth corps.

On Saturday, at eleven o'clock, General Sedgwick, who still held his position with the Sixth Corps, two miles below Fredericksburgh, at Franklin's old crossing, was ordered to move in the direction of Chancellorsville and effect a junction with the main body of the army, attacking and destroying any force of the enemy which he might encounter, and making a junction with General Hooker by daybreak of Sunday.

General Sedgwick had been assured over and over again from Headquarters, that the force in front of him was inconsiderable—a *regiment or brigade at most!*

It did not take him long to discover the incorrectness of this statement; and Sunday morning found him no further than Fredericksburgh or the plain in its rear.

The column had moved some distance across this open field, made historical by the attack of last December, when a sudden and severe flank fire was opened upon it. It was evident that the works on the heights were strongly manned, and if carried at all must be carried by storm.

You know already something of the splendid gallantry with which this work was done—the men, without firing a shot rushing up with their glittering steel and falling down dead by hundreds on the very edge of the rifle-pits.

At eleven o'clock, the first range of heights is carried. Great resistance is made at the second, but it also is carried; and between four and five



o'clock, P.M., the advance reached Salem Heights, on the Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville plank road, four and a half miles from the former place.

After a sharp and obstinate struggle the Salem Heights are gained; but the force is met by fresh rebel troops pouring in upon the flank of the advance portion of the line. For a short time the crest at Salem chapel is held by our men with obstinate resistance; but, at length, they are pushed slowly back through the woods—the falling back being covered and the advance of the enemy checked by the excellent firing of our batteries. So much for Sedgwick's work of Sunday.

During the night the enemy was reinforced heavily—a powerful column having come up from Richmond. Sedgwick, in obedience to his orders to join the main body of our army at Chancellorsville, had moved beyond the Fredericksburgh Heights, thus exposing them to be repossessed without a struggle by the enemy. This they at once did. Sedgwick is now cut off from Fredericksburgh.

We have seen what Sunday's operations at Chancellorsville were. Hooker was on the defensive the whole time. Lee engaged him from five o'clock in the morning till noon—we giving ground.

We can now take in the relation of the operations, both on the right at Chancellorsville, and on the left at Fredericksburgh, and see the masterly manner in which Lee availed himself of the opportunity afforded him.

It was eleven o'clock on Sunday when Sedgwick's corps carried the Fredericksburgh Heights. At one o'clock, General Lee became aware of the fact; and on the instant he ceased his attack.

It was a bold step he now took, and one that must have ended in his destruction, had even moderate vigor been displayed by General Hooker. But Lee seems to have felt he knew his man, and *he immediately countermarched his force back on the plank-road to meet Sedgwick!* You see clearly what his object was. A rebel force was in Sedgwick's rear at Fredericksburgh. If now Lee should come down on the front and flank of that small force of twenty thousand men, they must be utterly destroyed—either captured or driven into the river.

Sedgwick, having taken possession of the Fredericksburgh Heights, at eleven o'clock of Sunday, immediately moved out in obedience to orders, with the view of effecting a junction with General Hooker by the plank-road. It was five o'clock of Sunday afternoon when he reached Salem Heights. Here he was met by the advance of Lee's column, which had countermarched from in front of Hooker at Chancellorsville to Salem Heights—five miles. It was this force which checked Sedg-

wick's advance, as mentioned in a previous paragraph.

The situation on Sunday night is as follows: Sedgwick, checked in his advance on Salem Heights, formed his line for the night with his left resting on the river, about midway between Fredericksburgh and Banks' Ford, thence extending a little across the Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville plank-road, where it turned at right angles, following the direction of the road, out toward Chancellorsville for a mile and then again turning at right angles to the right, recrossing the plank road in front of Salem Heights; and then extending down towards Banks' Ford with a slight curvature to the left, the interval between the termination of the line and the river being admirably covered with artillery. His position thus formed three sides of a square, with the river for the fourth.

The main body of the rebels had abandoned Hooker's front at one o'clock, and during all the afternoon and evening were pouring down and enveloping Sedgwick.

While these things are going on, Hooker is again "contracting his line."

We now come to Monday's work. General Hooker, with his six corps, *still remains on the defensive*. Feeble demonstrations are made by the rebels in his front to keep him in check. These are quite effectual.

In the meantime, during all Monday, Lee is massing against Sedgwick's force, preparatory to a grand destructive blow.

It is now six o'clock of Monday evening, and from twelve o'clock of Sunday—thirty hours—General Hooker has not been seriously engaged with the enemy, *yet not a single attempt has been made to reinforce Sedgwick!*

Poor Sedgwick, meanwhile surrounded by a force four times his number, enveloped and on the brink of destruction, receives a message from General Hooker, saying that *he (Hooker) had driven the enemy, and all it wanted was for him (Sedgwick) to come up and complete their destruction!* Frightful delusion, which I cannot record without a shudder!

At six o'clock the enemy made a most determined attack, in echelons of battalions and in column, on Sedgwick's right, held by General Howe's division—their object being to *cut off our communication with the river*. At the same time another was made on his other wing, held by General Brooks' division. I need not repeat the details of this action, marked by the most obstinate gallantry on the part of the Sixth corps. Both wings were forced back by the terrible impetus of the overwhelming rebel masses. All the force and all the fire of the enemy, however, did not serve to accomplish their object—the driving of that gallant band into the river. Retiring to a less ex-



posed position, General Sedgwick stoutly held on, and, under cover of the darkness on Monday night, safely crossed his force to the north side of the Rappahannock—his force, or what remained of it; for over five thousand brave men, one-third of the entire number of effective men, fell during this terrible engagement. Their heroism passes all words of praise.

During the whole of that fight of Monday evening—that *triste noche*, when the enemy's whole force surrounded that one poor corps—no attempt was made by General Hooker to reinforce or relieve them. "Come on, all it wants is for you "to complete their destruction," was the piece of horrible irony that came to them. Hour after hour, their guns boomed on the night air and reached the ear of all at Chancellorsville—signals of distress which all were eager to respond to. Guns of distress—requiem guns!

This recital is complete as far as Sedgwick's force is concerned. We turn, now, to the main force near Chancellorsville.

Hooker has again contracted his line. It was but half the length of the former line, and very strong as you will perceive—both wings resting on the river.

That we would ever do aught less than *hold* this position, no one ever dared to dream.

Conceive the amazement, then, when on Tuesday, the order for withdrawal across the river was given! I have been told that in the Council of corps commanders, which General Hooker had summoned, *one* favored recrossing. He was certainly the only man in the army who did favor it. The others and, indeed, all in high places, not only opposed it by every obstacle of argument and persuasion, but even when this failed, many *tried to place material obstacles in the way*, if by so doing they might only delay or stop the retreat!

It was in vain, however, that all was done, and the army found itself retreating before—*nobody*. The enemy was retreating at the same time that we were; and no attempt at pursuit whatever was made. If they had pursued, they must have destroyed our army.

And thus ends a campaign characterized by better fighting and worse generalship than any in the history of the war.

## V.

The recital of events conducts to a brief summing up of the whole campaign.

1. General Hooker, remaining on the defensive at Chancellorsville, allowed the enemy forty-eight hours to concentrate. By this means he lost all the advantage of the surprise, and turned a series of operations, whose whole success depended on

his assuming the *offensive*, into an uncertain and, as it proved, a disastrous *defensive*.

2. It is said that the region around Chancellorsville is thickly wooded and ill-adapted for military operations. General Hooker is estopped from availing himself of this excuse by his own order, in which he declared it was *ground of his own selection*. Besides, this objection disappears before the fact, that Friday's reconnoissances show that he might have pushed out on the plank-road, beyond the woods, thus uncovering Banks' Ford, bringing his army within communicating distance with Sedgwick, and reducing the line of communication by eight miles.

3. After dividing his army—always a dangerous operation—he insured disaster by establishing no system of co-operation. Sedgwick could easily have held the heights in the rear of Fredericksburgh, which would have been a sure gain, and then the main body of the army could have worked its way up and made a junction. Indeed, the Richmond papers acknowledge that had General Hooker been content to have held the Fredericksburgh Heights and his position on the left, Lee must have fallen back defeated. But Sedgwick was ordered to abandon this stronghold, and come on and join the army at Chancellorsville, with the whole rebel force between him and it!

4. The operations, ending in the giving ground of the army at Chancellorsville, on Sunday, were over five hours before Sedgwick attacked Salem Heights. It is, therefore, evident that unless the Sixth corps could, single-handed, fight the enemy, the sole object of his taking the Heights of Fredericksburgh, or uncovering Banks' Ford could be to hold a position from which the army could *debouche*. Therefore, the attack on Salem Heights was mere waste of men; and if those heights had been taken, the Sixth corps never could have extricated itself.

5. Sedgwick's force was not attacked till six o'clock Monday. From twelve o'clock Sunday until six o'clock Monday evening—*thirty hours*—was available to reinforce Sedgwick, whose cannon were heard all Monday evening, and no attempt made to relieve him.

6. The troops that attacked Sedgwick were exhausted by two battles and a countermarch, yet General Hooker made no attack at daylight on Monday.

7. In the fight of Sunday but a half of our force was engaged—neither the First nor the Fifth corps being thrown in, and only a portion of the Second.

8. It is said that the rain, causing a rise of the Rappahannock and endangering our supplies, was a motive for retreat. *The order to retire was given twelve hours before any rain, and during a cloudless sky.*



## VI.

With this marshaling of events, the task which duty imposes on me ends. I make no criticisms, draw no conclusions. In fact the conduct of General Hooker escapes criticism by the introduction—I might almost venture to say—of a *Providential* hand, that seemed to paralyze him and deliver him over to judicial blindness. “The General “was not himself,” say his staff and familiars. And indeed the mood of the army toward their commander responds to this sentiment, and is one more of sorrow than of anger.

Nevertheless, with all this, the fact remains, as the President remarked at the close of his conference with General Hooker and the corps Commanders, that “both at home and abroad the late campaign will be regarded as the greatest disaster “of the war.”

If it be really so, what good can it do to attempt to conceal it, or cover it with palliations that sicken one to read? This nation is not of the temper I take it to be, if it cannot afford to look calmly at the worst facts—to look calmly at them, and *into* them, and resolutely to *right* them.

This noble Army of the Potomac, reduced though it be by losses in battle, remains to us yet—its strength still greater than the rebel force, which it feels more and more able to beat, if it can only be properly led. We need but this—*central wisdom at the head of military affairs in Washington, and good generalship for this army.*

“When lamentable weakness and endless verisatillity,” writes Napoleon in a passage of his *Memoirs*, that with strange fidelity reproduces our own condition, “are manifested in the councils of “a Government; when an administration, yielding by turns to the influence of every opposing “party, and going on from day to day, without “any fixed plan or determined system, has shown “its utter insufficiency; and when the most moderate citizens in the State are obliged to confess “that it is destitute of a Government; when rulers, insignificant at home, have shamefully “brought on their country the contempt of foreigners—the greatest of injuries in the eyes of a “proud people—vague apprehensions spread “throughout society; agitated by the instinct of “self-preservation, it looks into its own resources “and seeks for some one able to save it from destruction. A populous nation must always possess this tutelary genius in its own bosom, “though he may sometimes be tardy in appearing. “It is not, indeed, sufficient for him to exist. He “must be known to others, and he must be conscious of his own powers. Until then, all endeavors are vain, all schemes ineffectual. The “inertness of the multitude is the protection of “the Government, and in spite of its inexperience

“and weakness, the efforts of its enemies cannot “prevail against it. But let this deliverer, so “impatiently expected, suddenly give a proof of “his existence, and the nation instinctively acknowledges and calls on him, all obstacles vanish at his approach, and a great people thronging round his steps, seems exultingly to proclaim: This is the Man!”

Does not this whole nation, now in pain and travail, breathe the prayer, that Heaven may send us such a MAN?

WILLIAM SWINTON.

[The above communication, by the distinguished author of “The Army of the Potomac,” was written by him for the New York Daily Times, of which he was the widely-known Correspondent in the field; but it was suppressed after it was “in type,” by order of the Federal Government, and its author arrested.

We are glad to give it a place in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, both on account of the circumstances to which we have referred, and for its peculiar merit, as a piece of military criticism by a civilian; and we assure ourselves that our readers, especially those careful students of the military history of the recent war, who shall come after us, will not only appreciate the importance of Mr. Swinton’s scathing criticism, but thank us for preserving and publishing it.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

## XIV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, “as they are,” without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

AN OLD FIRE COMPANY.—Union Engine Company Number One, of Trenton, which was organized in 1747, passed through Jersey City a few days since, on a visit to their brother firemen at Poughkeepsie. The company numbered fifty-five men, and had with them their steam fire engine, and were also accompanied by the Jefferson brass band of Newark.

OLD LANDMARKS.—There are some very old buildings in Manchester, Virginia, older than any in big Richmond save, probably, the old stone house. Among the most ancient are the Clark Mansion, at the corner of Eleventh and Bainbridge streets; the Archer House, on Seventh and Bainbridge; the Murchie House, on Hull and Fifth, and the houses opposite, owned by Messrs. Whitehead and Weisiger. These buildings are all over a century and a quarter old, and were built by the ancestors of the present owners, when the old country road ran through the (then) village of Rocky Ridge to Coutt’s Ferry. Work and improvement have somewhat modernized them, and prevented their entire decay; but still they stand, and long may they stand, as connecting links between this and past generations we shall never blush to own. The Murchie House (Rocky



Ridge Castle), lately deserted by the hospitable family who for twenty years made it the scene of elegant refinement, is now a picture of bleakness, repelling us by its grim and gloomy appearance as much as in former days its taste and cheerfulness attracted. We are promised, by some of our oldest citizens, some most interesting reminiscences of Manchester from its earliest days, and from time to time we shall spread them before our readers with the hope of being in some means instrumental in interesting them.

DANIEL WEBSTER IN HIS YOUTH—A FAMILIAR LETTER TO A FRIEND.—A correspondent of the *Lewiston (Me.) Journal*, in a letter from Fryeburgh, in that State, says : Fryeburgh was settled in 1762. It was a noted place seventy years ago, and probably the village was at that time nearly as large as now. It has had a flourishing academy, over which Daniel Webster, then a youth of twenty-one just out of Dartmouth College, presided for nearly a year, in 1802. While there he boarded at a hotel at which we stopped; and is remembered as a black-eyed, black-haired, medium-sized youth, of sedate manners and correct morals, whose success in teaching was not marked, and who gave no indications of his subsequent mental greatness. At the Register of Deeds office in the village, there is shown one book of records in Webster's handwriting, he having occupied some of his spare hours in increasing his receipts by writing for the Register. At that time there were several leading lawyers living in Fryeburgh, and several law students, two of whom, Judah Dana, afterward a well-known Judge, and McGraw, afterward a prominent lawyer at Bangor, were Webster's intimate friends. The following letter, written by Webster while here, to his friend, Samuel Bradley, has been shown us by a relative of Mr. B. :

FRYEBURGH, March 3, 1802.

MY FRIEND : This is one of those happy mornings when Spring "looks from the lurid chambers of the South." Though we have snow in abundance, yet the air is charmingly serene, and Pigwacket (another name for Pequawket, as the region was formerly called), puts on more pleasantness than I have ever before seen it clad in. If I had an engagement of Love, I should certainly arrange my thoughts of this morning for a romantic epistle. How fine it would be to point out a resemblance between the clear lustre of the sun, and a pair of bright eyes! The snow, too, instead of embarrassing, would much assist me. What fitter emblem of virgin purity? A pair of pigeons that enjoy the morning on the ridge of the barn, might be easily transformed into turtle doves, breathing reciprocal vows. How shall I

resist this temptation to be a little romantic and poetical? "Loves" and "doves" this moment chime in my fancy in spite of me. "Sparkling eyes" and "mournful sighs," "Constancy of soul," "like needle to the pole," and a whole retinue of poetic and languishing expressions are now ready to pour from my pen! What a pity that all this inspiration should be lost for want of an object. But so it is—nobody will hear my pretty ditties, unless, forsooth, I should turn gravely about and declaim them to the maid who is setting the table for breakfast. But what an indelicate idea—a *maid* to be the subject of a ballad? 'twere blasphemy. Apollo would never forgive me. Well, then, I will turn about and drink down all my poetry with my coffee. "Yes, ma'am, I will come to breakfast."

I wish, my good friend, I could think of some pretty thing to tell you, but Pigwacket does not abound in extraordinary occurrences. The topic of this day's conversation is an intended ride this afternoon to Conway. I think the Misses enjoy it finely in prospect, and no doubt the retrospect will be equally pleasant. To me, however (*ut ad me revertor*), such things are most charming while future; it is my object, therefore, to keep them future as much as possible.

Mr. Fessenden's mother is dead—she departed to the "bourne whence no traveler returns" about a week ago, with bright prospects of future felicity; she attended the summons without a murmur, and, full of years, sunk to rest on the bosom of her Maker. Mr. Fessenden's family have been extremely ill, and his lady continues so yet. He has not yet returned from his attendance of the Legislature.

Our friends Dana and McGraw are gone to Haverhill Court. I have quite a lonely week—'twould be a pleasure to call at Harvey's house and take a cup of coffee with my friend Samuel, but he is not there. Yet this letter shall tell him that he is remembered with much tenderness and esteem by his

DANIEL WEBSTER.

SAMUEL A. BRADLEY, Esq.

"A REMINISCENCE.—Mr. John H. Eastburn, the "well-known printer, long established in State street, has reprinted, for the perusal of a few of "his friends, a letter from the late Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, in April, 1846, to William Hayden, Esq., then a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, upon the subject of temperance and prohibitory laws. This was the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author, and is full of the sound precepts which always adorned "and illustrated the productions of his pen and "the eloquence of his tongue."

The above is part of an editorial paragraph in the *Transcript* of last evening. My purpose in



copying it is to correct an error which it contains. The letter referred to above, written by Mr. Otis in April, 1848, was not "the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author." If you will turn to the files of the Boston *Atlas* you will find in the issue of that paper of the second of October, 1848, *An Address to the People of Massachusetts*, written and signed by Harrison Gray Otis. The address makes three closely-printed columns of the *Atlas*, and contains an eloquent appeal to the people in favor of the election of General Taylor to the Presidency.

This address was unquestionably "the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author," for Mr. Otis died on the twenty-eighth of the same month, at his residence in Boston, in the eighty-second year of his age. Allow me to add, that the manuscript of the address was brought to me by a messenger from Mr. Otis. It was clearly and neatly written on small letter sheets, gilt edge. Instead of giving the original to the compositors, I copied it, and it was set up from my manuscript. It was my intention to have the original bound and preserved in my library; but I gave it to the late Hon. William D. Swan, of Dorchester, who wished to present it to an old literary society in that town, the name of which I have forgotten. My impression is, that Hon. E. P. Tilton was at that time President of the Society. I presume that the manuscript of this, "the last public document" of Harrison Gray Otis, is still there.—W. S., *Transcript*.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CANADA.—At the fourth monthly meeting of the Natural History Society of Montreal, Mr. H. G. Vennor presented a catalogue of the birds noted on the Great Manitoulin Island, and accompanied it with a few observations on its physical features. Having given a brief topographical description of the Island, and a sketch of its geology, some of the silicified fossils of the Clinton group from the neighborhood of Lake Manitou were exhibited; also photographs of glacial groovings and scratchings on rocks on the south shore of the island. The following are extracts from the notes then read:

"From the village of Manitouaning, a fair portage road or trail leads off to the first and largest lake on the Island, Lake Manitou, or the Lake of the Great Spirit. The portage is about three miles in length, and runs through fine open woods, comparatively free from under-brush. For the information of any who may hereafter visit the Great Manitoulin, I may state that no canoes are to be had on any of the interior lakes of the island; and that it is not unusual to paddle for days on these, without even meeting with an Indian family. Consequently all canoes and Indians required have to

"be procured either at Little Current or Manitouaning. . . . Manitouaning Bay is ten miles long, and reaches to within two and one-half miles of South Bay, on the South side of the Island, thus nearly cutting off the uncaded portion of the Island.

"The waters of Lake Manitou are beautifully clear, and abound in fine fish—such as Black-bass, Salmon and Brook-trout, White-fish, and Perch.

"At the extreme Western end of this lake the Indians cross by a portage to another large lake called 'Mindemooya' or 'Old Woman's Lake;' here canoes have also to be portaged.

"The whole of this portage is strewn over with very fine Clinton fossils. The cliffs around this lake lie at some distance from the shores, so that we were not much surprised at finding a belt of good and well timbered land, between these cliffs and the shores. On such land we noticed large crops of corn and potatoes. From the middle of the lake rises Mindemooya Island, which is said to be much infested by snakes. Farther westward we have another large lake called Kagaweng, and numerous smaller ones generally distributed over the island.

"Oil wells were being successfully worked at Wequemacong by the Great Manitoulin Oil Company. The oil from this locality is of the finest description. An office has been opened in Montreal in connection with this Company.

"On the interior lakes the bald eagle and fish-hawk were very numerous; the former bird apparently living by the toiling of the latter species. Ruffed-grouse, Spruce-partridge and Wild-pigeons were very numerous all through the interior of the island. The islands in the lakes swarmed with the Silvery and Black-backed gulls, while the waters resounded with the cries of the Loon. The Whip-poor-will might always be heard along the rocky shores and particularly near the mouth of rivers."

On the whole, the reader remarked that the Great Manitoulin presented many advantages to the settler; for although perhaps one-third of the island was of a rocky and consequently barren character, the remaining two-thirds contained land of the finest description, covered at present either by Indian crops, or splendid hard-wood forests, which last yielded large quantities of maple sugar—generally at the rate of one thousand lbs. per acre. Mr. Vennor concluded by expressing a hope that ere long we might be able to hear of this great Manitoulin Island as being the home of the white settler, where he might be seen surrounded by waving fields of grain, and possessing not only the comforts, but also the luxuries of life.—*Canadian Naturalist*.



THE FIRST PRINTED BALLOT.—George Sheldon, of Deerfield, has an original *bona fide* electoral ticket for George Washington for President.

It is headed "THE WASHINGTON TICKET OF 'ELECTORS.'" Maine then belonged to Massachusetts, and four of the electors were from the former. The candidate from this district was Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., of Amherst. At that time, and for a number of years after, all the ballots were written. David Henshaw was the first man in Massachusetts who offered a printed ballot at the polls, he claiming that it was, in a legal point of view, a written one. The ballot was rejected; Henshaw prosecuted the Selectmen; and the matter was carried to the Supreme Court, where it was decided that Henshaw's view of the matter was correct. Since that time we have been allowed to use printed ballots.—*Greenfield Gazette*.

GRAIN SHIPMENTS FROM CHICAGO FOR TWENTY-NINE YEARS.—The following table shows the total shipments of all kinds of grain from Chicago for the past twenty-nine years, the flour being reduced to wheat:

Year.	Bushels.	Year.	Bushels.
1838,.....	78	1853,.....	6,412,181
1839,.....	2,673	1854,.....	13,932,320
1840,.....	10,000	1855,.....	16,633,700
1841,.....	40,000	1856,.....	21,533,221
1842,.....	556,907	1857,.....	18,032,678
1843,.....	688,907	1858,.....	20,035,166
1844,.....	923,496	1859,.....	18,771,812
1845,.....	1,024,620	1860,.....	31,108,759
1846,.....	1,599,619	1861,.....	50,481,862
1847,.....	2,243,201	1862,.....	56,434,110
1848,.....	3,001,740	1863,.....	54,741,839
1849,.....	2,769,111	1864-5,.....	47,124,494
1850,.....	1,830,938	1865-6,.....	53,212,224
1851,.....	4,646,291	1866-7,.....	66,736,660
1852,.....	5,873,141		

MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE DOCTOR WORCESTER.—The lot of Doctor Worcester is near the base of the perpendicular side of Mount Auburn, as that eminence rises from Consecration Dell. It is situated between Aster and Sumac paths, under the shadow of a group of stately and majestic beech trees, constituting a portion of the original forest that formerly covered the grounds. There has recently been erected on this lot, to the memory of Doctor Worcester, a substantial and durable granite monument, consisting of a base, plinth, die and cap, with the following inscription:

"TO THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH EMERSON WORCESTER, GEOGRAPHER, HISTORIAN, LEXICOGRAPHER. A MAN OF CHRISTIAN UPRIGHTNESS AND BENEFICENCE.

"BORN TWENTY-FOURTH OF AUGUST, 1784;  
"DIED TWENTY-SEVENTH OF OCTOBER, 1865.

"IN SIMPLICITY AND GODLY SINCERITY HE  
"HAD HIS CONVERSATION IN THE WORLD."

The cost of this monument was not far from one thousand dollars.—*Transcript*.

OLD AGE.\*—The *Boston Advertiser*, under its "general" column, states the following as a remarkable fact:

"There are now living in the town of Essex, a brother and two sisters whose united ages are '264 years.'"

This gives an average of eighty-eight years to each. We have a still more remarkable case than that in Portland. We have a brother and two sisters now living whose united ages are two hundred and eighty-five years and a quarter, the oldest being ninety-seven and one-quarter, the youngest ninety-two and one-half, showing an average of a little rising ninety-five years. This probably transcends any similar case on record. These are the eldest and only surviving of eleven children of Peter Thomas, who died in Portland, on the nineteenth of August, 1797, at the age of fifty-two years and three months.—*Portland Press*.

A GOVERNOR IN PETTICOATS.—A correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, describing a celebrated Portrait-gallery at Kensington, England, says there is a portrait there of Edward Hyde, afterward third Earl of Clarendon, who was Governor of New York in the reign of Queen Anne. He is represented (it was painted in 1723) in female low-necked evening dress, it being his idea of loyalty to his Queen to dress like her! "Among 'other apish tricks,' says Miss Strickland, 'Lord Cornbury, the half-witted son of Henry, 'Earl of Clarendon, is said to have held his state levees at New York and received the principal 'Colonists, dressed up in complete female court costume, because truly he represented the person of a female sovereign, his cousin, Queen 'Anne.'"

THE OLDEST WOODEN HOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES.—The *Boston Traveller* has a communication, relative to the oldest wooden house in the United States, which is worth making permanent in our magazine:

"W———R, Sept. 16, 1867.

"I noticed in last Saturday's *Traveller* an item giving information in reference to the oldest 'house in the United States. But Medford is 'mistaken. There are houses but not of wood, in 'St. Augustine, built in the sixteenth century. 'And so far as I know, the oldest wooden house 'in the United States is in (Neponset) Dorchester,

\* By Hon. Wm. Willis, of Portland.



"soon to be a part of Boston. It was built in 1633, and is called the 'Minot House,' from the name of the first owner. It is situated on Minot-street, near Chicatawbut-street, and near the Baptist Church, and is occupied by a respectable English family, who pay eighty dollars annual rentage. The house was occupied by General Washington and his body-guard for a season during the Revolution. The house is two stories high, and the outside has by no means a bad look. Its frame is of oak, either Irish or white, I am not sure which, and the beams are as sound as ever, and likewise the whole frame, with the exception of the sills, is in a good state of preservation. The rooms are oddly shaped and awkwardly arranged. The beams are in sight and are finished off and beaded, and the ceiling is very low. Indeed, it is quite worth while to visit this ancient house. There is a little romance connected with it. During the early years of Dorchester the Indians were very troublesome. The Nipponset tribe made their headquarters in the village now of that name, and the chief's name was Chicatawbut, hence the name to the street above mentioned. Mr. Minot being absent one day, an Indian came to the house and tried to get admittance, but the heroic wife refused to admit him, knowing that it could be for no good intent, and taking down her husband's loaded gun, she fired at him, wounding him severely, and then, in a moment, threw a pailful of boiling water into his bosom. He fled into the woods, and, as tradition says, was found dead the next morning, near by, having died of his wounds. The woman was honored for her bravery by the inhabitants of the place by the presentation of a gold wristlet, with her name upon it, and the words, 'who slew the Narragansett Indian.'"

A. G. R.

## MERRIMAC AND MONITOR.

RICHMOND, VA., September 14, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORLD.

SIR: I find in yesterday's *World*, just received, a report of a speech of Mr. Greeley, at the opening of the American Institute Fair, in which occurs the following sentence:

"After referring to the triumph of the *Monitor* over the *Merrimac*, in Hampton Roads, Mr. Greeley continued, &c., &c."

Now, there is no fact in the late war better ascertained than that all the "triumph" ever won by an iron-clad in Hampton Roads was by the *Merrimac*. I was one of a concourse of thousands of people who saw the *Merrimac* challenge the whole Federal fleet, through a long summer day, to come out

from the guns of Fortress Monroe and the Rip Raps and fight her; and among those who declined the challenge was the *Monitor*. But I choose to set this fiction at rest on the evidence of a Northern man, and one whose standing as a witness in a case of this sort is unimpeachable. I refer to Norman Wiard, the celebrated ordnance founder and inventor. In a memorial addressed by him to Congress, and to be seen in the Report on the Conduct of the War, Supplement, Part Two, I find the following sentence:

"It should be recollected that the Army of the Potomac was once prevented from passing up James River, by the presence of the terrible *Merrimac*, which iron-clad was encountered by another iron-clad, the little *Monitor*, armed with Dahlgreen eleven-inch shell guns, the projectiles from which crumbled against her sides, and she returned, uninjured, to her picket duty, and long continued to hold possession of Norfolk Harbor and the mouth of the James River, or so long as until our army had passed too far to return toward a disastrous campaign to get to her rear at Harrison's Landing."

The simple truth is, that all that was ever done in the Roads by any iron-clad was done by the *Merrimac*. The attack on and destruction of the *Congress* and *Cumberland* would as certainly have been followed by the destruction of the *Minnesota* had there been sufficient draft of water for the *Merrimac* to approach her; and it was a leak, occasioned by injury to her beak received in her attack on the *Congress*, and no battering of the *Monitor*, "whose shells crumbled against her sides," that sent the *Merrimac* back to her dock. The only serious damage inflicted on either iron-clad was suffered by the turret of the *Monitor*. And no sooner had the *Merrimac* been repaired than she sailed down the harbor, and vainly strove to get the entire fleet, *Monitor* included, to leave their safe moorings under the hundreds of guns ashore! Thenceforward the *Merrimac* lorded it on the waters of the great roadstead, until that melancholy morning in May when she sank on the field of her fame by the hands of her friends—*morte sur le champ de bataille*. We have little left. If not glory—nothing. Surely the United States can afford to leave us that untaxable possession.

K.

ELIZABETH DAY.—Ninety-two years ago, in October, Elizabeth Pearson, a bright girl of seven summers, might have been seen playing on the beach fronting her father's house, at the eastern end of Fore street. Over this little bay and beach, the Grand Trunk Railway has spread its net work of tracks. On that day, the seventeenth of October, 1775, the wondering eyes of this little child beheld the fleet of Mowatt slowly coming



up the harbor. The next day, her father's and her grandfather's houses, with most of their contents, and the whole village clustered around King and the lower part of Fore streets, were utterly and wantonly destroyed by the relentless Mowatt, and their houseless inhabitants were driven into exile.

This little girl grew to womanhood; was married in her nineteenth year to George Day; and died on the twentieth instant, in the one hundredth year of her age, the oldest person in town, and the oldest, so far as we have any authentic record, who ever died upon this peninsula. She never forgot those exciting incidents of her childhood.

Mrs. Day was the daughter of Wm. and Maria (Bradbury) Pearson, and was born in December, 1767, on a lot an acre in extent, which was granted to her great-grandfather, John Oliver, of Boston, in 1721. Portions of this tract have ever continued in Oliver's family, his daughters, Mary, having married Henry Wheeler, and Elizabeth, Rowland Bradbury, both early inhabitants of our town, and their descendants are still living in it. Bradbury built a house upon the lot, in which his grand-daughter, Mrs. Day, was born. Her father, Wm. Pearson, married Maria, a daughter of Rowland Bradbury, on the second of July, 1764; another daughter married Watson Crosby, who lived on the same Oliver acre, whose daughter Emma married our late estimable citizen, Captain Lemuel Moody, whose children fill useful and honorable places in our community.

Mrs. Day was, in 1786, married to George Day, by our venerable pastor, Thomas Smith, then eighty-four years old, who also married her father twenty-two years before. They had six children, of whom four, two sons and two widowed daughters, still live; our fellow citizen, Charles Day, born in 1798, was the youngest. She was married eighty-one years ago, and has been a widow more than sixty years. She has, during her long life, enjoyed remarkably good health; she has hardly felt the infirmities of age; and, until within a week of her death, has enjoyed her faculties, and has engaged in the ordinary duties of domestic life. After she was ninety-five years old, she was in the habit of taking long walks in passing from one part of the town to another to visit her children. Her home has been principally with her son Charles since her husband's death, on the spot on which she was born. I do not know of another instance where an original town grant has continued in one family, from its date to the present time, one hundred and forty-six years, as this has, and is likely to continue for years to come. Mrs. Day was blessed with a cheerful temper, and bright and buoyant spirits—even in her advanced years she had no depression—the vigor of her

body was well sustained by a radiant, hopeful mind. She was a welcome companion in her large circle of relatives and friends; her children and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren rose up to do her reverence, and will long continue to cherish and honor her memory.

In contemplating this lengthened life, the mind naturally recurs to the immense changes which have taken place during its continuance. She was born a British subject on American soil; she was born a British Colonist; she dies the citizen of a great and independent Republic; she has lived through the whole life of our nation; in her day two millions and a half of people have become thirty-four millions; the thirteen feeble Colonies have expanded to thirty-four States, filled with wealth, adorned by arts, and strengthened by all the resources that give power, and pride, and dignity to a great empire. She has also witnessed and been a partaker in the progress of our city from an humble village of fifteen hundred inhabitants to its present metropolitan character, with its large commercial, literary, and social advantages.

If we add to the age of this venerable woman, that of our first minister, the Rev. Thomas Smith, their joint lives extend over a period of one hundred and sixty-five years, comprehending five generations of the human race, who have lived and struggled, had their busy day, and died, and are forgotten in that space of time. They reach back, too, thirteen years beyond the settlement of the town, to the beginning of the last century, in the second year of which Mr. Smith commenced his pilgrimage of ninety-four years. How were those years and those generations freighted with joys and woes, with trials, cares and vicissitudes—what changes in individual fortunes, and overwhelming distresses and exalted prosperity in our social condition. Among the crushing sorrows were the destructive fires of 1775 and 1866, which each prostrated our town, and the distressing period of the Embargo and War, from 1807 to 1815, which humbled our poor town in the dust of humiliation and poverty. But of the joys and sorrows, and individual experience, which have flowed over the hearts of those past generations, no human tongue can tell, no mind conceive. From the elevated ground of the present social condition of our individual, and municipal, and national life, we may take profitable lessons, and not forgetting the trials, the hardships and sufferings through which our predecessors, the pioneers of our civilization and our accumulated blessings, trod their gloomy way, may learn wisdom and moderation from the great facts which history and experience spread out before us. W.

AN HISTORICAL PIANO.—We are indebted to a correspondent for the following account of an or-



ganized piano, being the first piano-forte which the late Mr. Jonas Chickering ever saw, which is now in the possession of Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, of Old Cambridge.

This instrument is remarkable, apart from the circumstance above stated, as having belonged to the Princess Amelia, daughter of George the Third. She presented it to her Chaplain. George Odiome of Boston, married, in London, the Chaplain's daughter. He gave the piano to his daughter, when she left her native land for her home in America. The late General J. Montgomery purchased the piano of Mrs. Odiome for his daughter, then a young girl, at Mrs. Rawson's school, in Boston; and afterwards gave it to her when she went to reside in New Ipswich, New Hampshire.

There, accidentally, the cover was broken; a cabinet maker was sent for to make a new lid; and Jonas Chickering, then an apprentice, was sent to examine the piano for a removal to the shop. His look of astonishment and wonder at this revelation of a hitherto unknown (to him) musical instrument, can be better imagined than described. He seemed utterly unconscious of observation, while he peered about it, removing and displacing to examine the construction; and in it he first saw an organ, with its various pipes and bellows. The piano-forte and organ could be used together, and were tuned in unison, or they could be played separately. Mr. Chickering, a few years since, advised the owner to have a new and larger bellows put in, and play the organ by itself, as its tones were very sweet and suited to a chamber. His advice was followed. Mr. Chickering expressed much pleasure from time to time in selecting his best instruments for the lady to whom he was indebted for his first study of a piano-forte.

This true account will correct the statements of the writer in the July number of the *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Piano in the United States," in which he states that the first piano Chickering ever saw was in a battered condition, and that he put it in good repair; whereas, the one he first saw was in constant use, and is a handsome instrument at the present moment, inlaid with satin wood and wreaths of colored wood surrounding the name of

CHRISTOPHER CANER,

*Londoni Fecit,*

1782.

BROAD STREET.

SOHO.

FORMER SOCIAL LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND.—The current ideas of New England life and habits in former years are in many respects erroneous. There was far less of sternness and stiffness than

is commonly supposed, and far more of true domestic happiness and warm friendship among neighbors. Professor Silliman, in his autobiography, gives a pleasant sketch of New England life, three-quarters of a century ago. He says:

Those who were born and educated under the primitive influences of New England sentiments and manners, when population was yet sparse and personal friendships still partook of the simplicity and sincerity of colonial manners, appear to have felt and cherished the social sentiments as a part of their nature and the hospitality which characterized that state of society offered a welcome asylum to the traveling friend. My mother was born and educated under such influences, and a refined standard of deportment in the parental home, added graceful attractions to her manners.

Among the first people of New England there was a graceful dignity blended with a winning kindness; and, in the case of acknowledged friends, crowned by a cheerful greeting when they met, which produced reciprocal feelings and a cordial response. These traits were conspicuous not only among persons in elevated positions, but in a good degree also in those gradations in society in which refinement was not dependent on wealth, and limited resources demanded even a frugal hospitality. Such was the case with the clergymen, who, being usually men of education, and often—as well as their families—possessing very interesting manners, caused their homes, with the aid of manly sons and lovely daughters, to present delightful family circles.

My mother was very attentive to our manners. We were taught to be respectful, especially to older persons and to ladies,

If we received a book or anything else from her hand, a look of acknowledgement was expected, with a slight inclination of the head, which she returned. We must not interrupt any one who was speaking, and never speak in a rude, unmannerly way. We were always taught to give place at a door or a gate to another person, especially if older.

The family manners in those early times were superior in some respects to those which are often observed at the present day. The blunt reply to a parent, without the addition of "Sir" or "Ma'am," to "Yes" or "No," was then unknown, except among rude and unpolished people.

As to my mother, in the course of long experience, I do not remember to have seen a finer example of dignity and self-respect, combining a kind and winning manner, and a graceful courtesy, with the charms of a cheerful temper and a cultivated mind, which made her society acceptable in the most refined and polished circles. Her delightful piety, adding the charm of sincerity and benevolence both to her action and conversation, attracted the wise and good, and won



the thoughtless to consideration. It is a great blessing to have had such a mother.

AN ANCIENT COIN.—In a jeweler's establishment, in Washington, there is on exhibition a gold coin, most remarkable in appearance, and of the purest metal. It is about the size of a half eagle, remarkably fresh-looking, the inner side of which is concave, with a raised chariot, having seated in it a skeleton image pointing ahead with a rapier, and drawn by two spirited horses. The outer side bears an elaborate profile of a female, with her head decorated in the manner worn by the crowned heads at the time the coin was issued (twenty-two hundred years ago). Its weight is five and a half pennyweights, or, as near as may be in value, worth about five dollars. The coin was at one time in the possession of Rev. W. W. Eddy, missionary in Assyria, who thus describes how he came in possession of it:

A coin of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, who reigned about three hundred and forty years before Christ, and consequently twenty-two hundred years old, was found in a garden adjoining Sidon, Syria, among the ruins of the ancient city. Two jars, containing coins of Philip and Alexander, were found in the ground by workmen digging, and the contents divided among them. The Turkish Government claim all such treasures, and hearing of the discovery, imprisoned all the workmen until they gave up nearly all the coins. These they immediately melted up for new coinage. A Mohammedan woman, who was with the workmen, obtained some of the coins, and wearied out the Government by her endurance of imprisonment, while denying the possession of any of the treasures. After her release, I obtained this coin, with much difficulty, from her, through her fear of another arrest.

Some time since this coin was deposited with Mr. C. R. Brown, a jeweller, at Saratoga, who was offered by a well known antiquarian, the sum of twelve hundred dollars, but being instructed not to part with it at any price, the offer was rejected.

DORCHESTER AND GENERAL GRANT.—An antiquarian (no doubt one of the well-known and indefatigable record searchers of the handsome suburb) writes to the *Dedham Gazette* that "we have good and sufficient evidence that General Grant is a descendant from Mathew Grant, of Dorchester, who came to that town in 1630."

Headley, it seems, is mistaken in fixing upon Noah (who was really born in Connecticut, in 1748), as the first immigrant of the family to America. The fact is, Noah first saw the light One hundred and forty-eight years after the advent of

the aforesaid Mathew. How Dorchester will go in the next Presidential election, after this hunting up of the Genealogies, hardly admits of a doubt!—*Transcript*.

ENGLISH SPARROWS.—The following interesting history of the English Sparrow in the Park at Union Square, New York, was prepared by Mr. J. T. Shaw, the attentive policeman of that Park. Mr. Shaw writes as follows:

"In April, 1866, two pairs of sparrows came to Union Park and claimed possession of the only bird-house there (indeed, it was the only one in five parks), which was occupied by two pair of wrens. After a desperate fight of several hours, the wrens had to yield to the heavier bird, and left the Park. The sparrows took possession, and within five weeks had nine added to their numbers, and out in the Park. In June, the same year, one hundred bird-houses were erected there. The sparrows at once took to them and produced several broods before the leaves fell from the trees, and seventy-five to eighty of these birds wintered there, to the delight and amusement of many lovers of birds.

"About three hundred bird-houses were also erected in four other Parks near, and many sparrows came in from Central Park and occupied them all winter, and have continued to occupy and breed in them, as has also the blue-bird and wren, until now there are believed to be twelve or fifteen hundred sparrows in these five Parks. They are very happy and tame, and are seldom molested by the children, and have made a clean sweep of the worms and millers, and saved the foliage of all the trees, so that, for the first time in seven years, at this season, we have a perfect foliage in said parks.

"There is nothing like the sparrow for the destruction of the worms and insects generally. Planks have been anchored in the fountains, from which the birds drink and bathe. Last Thursday morning, I counted seventy-five of them on the plank at Union Park, bathing, in thirteen minutes.

"If the people will put up bird-houses on the trees in our streets and yards, the city will be well supplied with the sparrows in a few years, and the vile tree-worm will disappear."

ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEW YORK—ANOTHER COLLECTION LOST TO US.—Another valuable collection of antiquities is now lost to New York, but fortunately it does not leave the country, as have heretofore too many of our American collections.

The Trustees of the Peabody Ethnological Museum have very wisely secured Charles C. Claus' cabinet of flint and bronze implements and orna-



ments. Most of the specimens were obtained from the Island of Rugen, in the Baltic, a locality famed for the excellent quality of its flint. To this island many of the ancient inhabitants of Northern Europe must have resorted, anterior to the metal age, for this indispensable material. The remaining portion of Mr. Claus' collection is from Norway, Sweden and the Danish Islands. The whole has been offered to the savants of New York for nearly a year—first brought to the notice of the American Ethnological Society, and afterward put up in the rooms of the Long Island Historical Society, where we hoped it would be secured. It is now removed to Cambridge, where it will be arranged for the benefit of ethnological students, in comparing the stone age of the two continents.

In connection with this subject we might ask, is it not possible in the great and wealthy City of New York to find a Peabody who would be willing to endow an institution for the grand purpose of collecting and studying the aboriginal arts of a great Continent? Such a museum would not merely illustrate the history of the many millions of people who have preceded us in this country, but would also furnish the most complete index to the early development of the human race in general.

When will our people learn to appreciate American ethnology sufficiently to arrest the exodus of our native relics? Not, we fear, till most of them have been transferred to Europe. Note the valuable collections already lost to us: Dr. Kock's osteological wonders—exhumed from the Southern and Western States—are now in Berlin; Catlin's Indian gallery of portraits and curiosities went to Europe; Du Chaillu's unique collection, illustrative of the natural history and antiquities of Central Africa, was offered to New York for half the price obtained for it in London. Dr. Davis has expended much time and money in the collection of the largest and most complete suit of relics ever obtained from the mounds of the Mississippi Valley. After years of unsuccessful efforts to secure a purchaser here, he was compelled to accept an offer from England, where his rare collection has gone. Regrets are, and will be entertained by American archaeologists that it was not secured by the Smithsonian Institution, which published an account of the explorations, not only to verify their own publication, but also for the benefit of the future antiquarian. Mr. Squire has taken his collections, made in Central and South America, to Europe, whence it is feared they will never return.

Thus will be seen how surely we are losing all means for illustrating the ante-Columbian period of our history. We are aware that some few private collections still exist in the country which should be gathered together as the nucleus of a

great American museum of aboriginal art. Who will take the initiative in doing for New York what has been done for Cambridge?—*New York Times*.

**INHUMAN TREATMENT OF PRISONERS—HORRORS OF THE ROCK ISLAND PRISON.**—During the time that rebel prisoners were confined at Rock Island barracks, the *Argus*, on several occasions, called public attention to the condition of these prisoners, and every time was met with the reply that its rebel sympathies made it unduly solicitous for the comfort of rebels. When we, by request of the commandant of the prison, appealed to the public for donations of proper clothing for the unfortunate men who were sent, in dead of winter, in box cars, with no fires, from Tennessee to Rock Island, many of whom died on the way, and all suffered most terribly, we were denounced by very "loyal" men for sympathizing with rebels. When, on another occasion, we denounced the shameful course of the commandant of the post and chief surgeon, who refused to furnish the rebels with vegetables, or permit them to purchase them with their own money, and thus brought the scurvy upon a great number of them, we met with the same treatment. But we followed up the complaint to the authorities at Washington, on this subject, until an Order was issued permitting the prisoners to buy vegetables—and the scurvy soon ceased.

The prisoners at Rock Island barracks were treated with shameful cruelty, though their sufferings were greatly mitigated by humane people, who, at the risk of being mobbed by the "loyal," furnished them with food and clothes to a considerable extent.

We will briefly enumerate some of the inhumanities practised here:

1. The manner in which the prisoners were brought here was cruel and inhuman, causing the death of a large number of them.
2. They were sent here before suitable buildings were prepared for their reception, and besides suffering horribly, a number died from this cause.
3. Their money was taken from them and used as capital to carry on a profitable trade with them.
4. They were not supplied with sufficient food and clothing.
5. They were starved, in the hospitals and in the barracks, and one of the surgeons says the head doctor declared, when appealed to by his associates to permit more food, that he intended to starve them to death, in retaliation for the sufferings of our men in the South.
6. They were cruelly and inhumanly punished,



and numbers were shot down without the slightest provocation.

These are only a few of the facts in regard to Rock Island prison. The full details of the horrors endured there will never be known. But the Congressional Committee can, if they wish, obtain enough to satisfy any unprejudiced mind that great cruelty was practised right here in Rock Island. Two thousand dead Confederates, now mouldering to dust on the island, attest that greater numbers died here than in Andersonville, or any other Southern prison, in proportion to the number confined and the time occupied. And thousands of men throughout the Southern States can give this Committee valuable, interesting and truthful revelations as to the practices in Rock Island, if they will take pains to get it.—*Cincinnati Inquirer*.

HOW TO BECOME A MILLIONAIRE. — John McDonough, the millionaire of New Orleans, has engraved upon his tomb a series of maxims he had prescribed as the rule for his guidance through life, and to which his success in business is mainly attributed. They contain so much wisdom that we copy them :

*Rules for the Guidance of my Life, 1804.*—Remember that labor is one of the conditions of our existence. Time is gold; throw not one minute away, but place each one to account. Do unto all men as you would be done by. Never put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day. Never bid another do what you can do yourself. Never covet what is not your own. Never think any matter so trifling as not to deserve notice. Never give out that which does not first come in. Never spend but to produce. Let the greatest order regulate the transactions of your life. Study in your course of life to do the greatest amount of good. Deprive yourselves of nothing necessary to your comfort, but live in an honorable simplicity. Labor, then, to the last moment of your existence.

Pursue strictly the above rules, and the Divine blessing and riches of every kind will flow upon you to your heart's content; but, first of all, remember that the chief and great duty of your life should be to tend, by all means in your power, to the honor and glory of our Divine Creator.

The conclusion to which I have arrived is, that without temperance there is no health; without virtue no order; without religion no happiness; and that the aim of our being is to live wisely, soberly and righteously.

JOHN McDONOUGH.

NEW ORLEANS, March 2, 1804.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, BROOKLYN. — The *Minutes of the Hudson River Association, South,*

have the following account of the circumstances which led to the organization of this Church :

It was in the summer of 1822, the year memorable for the visitation of that terrible scourge, the yellow fever, that two brethren, Eliakim Raymond and Elijah Lewis, to escape its ravages in New York city, made Brooklyn their temporary home. Finding five others of like faith and practice with themselves, they gathered together in prayer meetings in private houses; the first one being held in a room on Cranberry street, directly opposite the present lecture-room of Plymouth Church (Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's); and it is worthy of notice, that two of the persons who attended that first prayer-meeting are yet living, and one of them, Mrs. Ann Lewis, widow of Deacon Elijah Lewis, is yet an honored and active member of this church.

The continuation of these meetings, week after week, led to an increase of members, and, occasionally, to preaching by ministers from New York City. These labors of love and faith did not end with the summer, but continued through autumn, winter and spring, the two brethren named continuing their personal labors and efforts, though obliged to cross the East River in open boats, through many a storm, and to forego the pleasures of attending their own comfortable churches in New York, and listening to the eloquence of such preachers as Archibald Maclay, John Williams, and Spencer H. Cone, the latter of whom was then in the zenith of his power and popularity.

On the nineteenth of August, 1823, the First Baptist church of Brooklyn was organized, with the following named persons as constituent members, viz.: Charles P. Jacobs, Richard Jones, Joshua Evans, Maria Cornell, Sarah Quereau, Elizabeth Jacobs, Hannah Jones, Margaret Evans, Margaret Nostrand, and Eliza Ann Rust.

JOSHUA AS A GENERAL.—General D. H. Hill, of the late Confederate army, has a high opinion of the military skill of Joshua, and thinks he displays a superiority over noted Generals of later times. He says:

Joshua, the successor of Moses, was distinguished by the favor of Heaven, and yet was one of the most renowned military leaders of his own or any other age. His strategy and manœuvring furnish an interesting study, at this day, to the student of military history. He will see that the mistake which Washington made at Germantown, in attempting to take Chew's house, which Greene made at Eutaw in attempting to take the brick jail, Joshua did not make when the five Kings fled to their cave or stronghold at Makkedah. He did not turn aside from



the great object, but gave orders: "Stay ye not, but pursue after your enemies and smite the hindmost of them; suffer them not to enter their cities." Had Jackson, at New Orleans, been familiar with the tactics of Joshua, he would have made his night attack on the twenty-second of December, just before day, and thus have anticipated the great victory of the eighth of January. Is it not strange that military men in modern times, with all the lights of history and experience before them, can discover no mistakes in the campaigns of Joshua, who marched and fought, ages before Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon? Whence did he derive his strategy? Who taught him the art of war?

**A STRANGE STORY.**—A correspondent of the *Albany Evening Journal*, in noticing the recent death, in a Southern city, of a Mississippi River pilot, relates the following curious story:

This pilot was a devoted rebel at heart, but while Grant was at Young's Point, operating against Vicksburg, he was in charge of one of the Union transports, lying below the Point, on the west side of the river.—General Grant at that time was greatly annoyed and mortified at the promptness and unerring correctness of the information conveyed from his line to the enemy. "During three or four hours of each day," says the correspondent, "this pilot, after gathering from the officers at headquarters what information he desired—for officers would talk—would repair to a farm house down on the Point, and, with a mirror, which he had previously taken from the cabin of the steamer, amuse himself by throwing the sun's reflection up and down the river. No one asked what he was doing—for the employment was so simple and apparently abstracted, that none thought for a moment of attributing any other motive than mere idle pastime. But this was his secret, previously agreed upon between himself and General Pemberton. Vicksburg is mainly upon a high bluff, the lower part of the city, during certain hours of the day, being entirely in the shade. Commencing at the upper end of the city, and within easy view, M. had selected thirteen houses behind and above each other. To each one of these houses a letter of the alphabet was given. From the window of the farm-house he threw the reflections, first upon one house and then upon another, an officer of Pemberton's staff, in the secret, at the same time standing on the levee, with his back to M., and reading every word easily and rapidly. And he not only gave information of what was transpiring in the Union camp at Young's Point, but also gathered from Northern newspapers important news relative to the move-

ments of armies elsewhere, sending it across the river in the same manner. The plan was kept up until a short time before General Grant made arrangements for going below Vicksburg, crossing at Grand Gulf, and coming up in the rear. Just before that event M. was ordered to another point, and, consequently, the enemy had no light upon the subject of that last move."

**SCRAPS.**—An old resident of Jamestown, New York, reports that in 1808, when that town was first settled, the village Common was cleared of stumps by fines imposed on those who got drunk. The penalty for getting drunk was to dig up a large stump; and for getting only tipsy, a smaller stump. The removal of every stump in about two months was the result.

—Faneuil Hall Market-house stands on what for several generations was known as the Cove.

—Boston Common received its name from the fact of its being common land—land common to all the early inhabitants.

—A very curious incident occurred in the surveys of the Iron Mountain road, in the cypress swamps of South-east Missouri. The engineers, having orders to locate their surveys in connection with the United States land surveys, had occasion to search for the marks or records, made years ago, in the swamps. The land surveyors had marked the results of their work by cutting into the body of a tree, leveling off a smooth surface of the trunk, and engrossing their record on the tablets thus prepared. The engineers found the trees of the old survey, and recognized the scars of former cuttings; but to reach the records were compelled to cut into the trees again. New wood had grown up over the old record, completely hiding and protecting it. But, after cutting into the body, down to the original tablet, they found the surveyor's record as plain and distinct as when first made.

—A blundering correspondent of a New York paper says that the den where General Putnam shot the wolf is one of the summer attractions of the town of Woodstock. The old wolf-den used to be located in the southerly part of the town of Pomfret; and it undoubtedly remains there until this day.

—A recent visitor to the tip of Cape Cod, who has, we suspect, been befogging himself with old wives' traditions, wishes to know where the Indians got the copper kettle Miles Standish stole from them? We turn him over to the antiquaries, having a dim impression that said kettle, if it ever existed, was a legacy from the Danes to the aborigines, when the former settled Provincetown. —*Transcript.*



—*The Indianapolis Herald* says: "There is a man residing in Noblesville, named Moreau, who is ninety-seven years old. He is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, members of the Masonic fraternity, having joined that organization in 1800. He was one of the assistants of Robert Fulton in building his first steamboat; and was on board of her during her first or trial trip. The old man is never so happy as when, with chalk or pencil, he is laying off diagrams, and explaining the machinery and vessel he helped to construct on that occasion. The scenes and incidents of three score and ten years ago, particularly of the war of 1812, are as fresh in his mind as though they had happened only yesterday, while the occurrences of last week are dim, if not entirely forgotten."

—The first newspaper tolerated in Virginia was in 1780. The subscription price was fifty dollars per annum for one copy. Advertisements of moderate length were inserted for ten dollars the first week, and seven dollars for each succeeding week.

—The old homestead of Ethan Allen still stands in the village of Bennington Centre, Vermont.

—The oldest locomotive in America was broken up at a machine shop in Bangor, Maine, the other day. It was the "Pioneer," a ten ton engine; and one of the early machines built in England, by Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive. It was built at his works, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1835; and ran its first trip over the B. O. and M. R. R., on the sixth day of November, 1835. Its last work was done on the fifteenth day of August, 1867.

—The greatest curiosity of Flushing, N. Y., is the house in which George Fox once lived, built in 1661, and still, after two hundred years, owned and occupied by a descendant of its earliest tenant. It is in the old style of New England farm-houses, two stories in front, and with a long slope in the rear. The floors are fastened with wooden pins, and the timbers are in perfect preservation. The grounds around it are perfectly kept; and its Quakerism is more in its legend than in its present show. The present owner and his lady are most accomplished and charming people; and love to talk with strangers about the good old times. On the other side of the street they show you "George Fox's Oak," all that remains of the tree, under which the leather-breeched enthusiast was wont to interpret to the crowd the word of the Spirit. It is but a *torso* and a fragment. The crown is gone; the branches are gone; and there is only left a dry, yellow, decaying trunk. But this relic is preserved with pious care; and the friends who pass it on their way to the Sunday gatherings seem to see in its

gaunt lines the visage and form of their great leader.

—In Litchfield, Conn., recently, Captain Salmon Buel celebrated his one hundredth birthday by attending the Congregational Church (which is the New England idea of festivity), the congregation rising as he came in, and the choir singing "Old Hundred," (which is the New England idea of facetiousness.)—*World*.

—Richard C. Washington, who died in Washington, recently, was a direct descendant of Lawrence Washington, the elder brother of the father of George Washington, and was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He had been a resident of Washington for many years, and occupied at the time of his death the position of Chief Clerk in the Appointment Office of the Post Office Department. He has been connected with this department for over twenty years.—*Transcript*.

—Mr. Larkin G. Mead, Jr., the American sculptor, has just completed the model of "Col-umbus before Queen Isabella," ordered some time since by Mr. Lockwood, of New York. This is Mr. Mead's most important work; and its merits are sufficient to satisfy the artist's most enthusiastic friends.—*Ibid*.

—An Historical Society has been established at St. Petersburg, with the object of searching for historical documents of the time of Peter the Great.—*Exchange*.

—Dr. N. B. Shurtleff has been appointed by the Massachusetts Historical Society to prepare the memorial of the late L. M. Sargent, Esq.

—Thomas Paine was probably the first man who suggested the practicability of constructing bridges of iron; and he conceived the idea from contemplating the fabrication of a spider's web, when he was in the United States. In 1787, Paine presented to the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, the model of a bridge which he had invented; and when he resided at Rotherdam, in Yorkshire, a bridge chiefly of wrought iron, was constructed under his direction, by the Messrs. Walker.

—The first chime of bells in America was presented to Christ's Church, Salem Street, Boston, one hundred and twenty-three years ago. The bells exist in good state of preservation. The inscription upon the third tenor reads—"We are the first ring of bells cast for the British Empire in North America. A. D. 1744."

—In 1796 great complaint was made of the number of hackney coaches allowed to stand in State-street, Boston. The Legislature was called upon to remedy the evil and guard the citizens from the danger of losing their eyes by the snapping of the whips of the coachmen as they passed.

—The Marion (Ohio) *Independent* says that thirteen human skeletons, of an extinct race, were found in an excavation for a cellar in that place,



lately, and expresses the opinion that the hill upon which the excavation was made is full of similar remains. A singular thing about the skeletons found was, that the arms had all been broken between the elbow and the shoulder, and the thigh bones had also been broken. "Two of the skeletons were of females, the rest were of males. "The females, when living, must have been taller than the average of men of the present day. "The males must have been seven or eight feet high."

— When the British entered Philadelphia, during the Revolution, they came by way of the Germantown road.—*Dispatch*.

— The present United States Navy Yard, Philadelphia, is on the site of the Association Battery, erected before the Revolution.—*Ibid*.

— The old graveyard, on the west side of the Schuylkill, above Market street, Philadelphia, which is now demolished by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was assigned for use as a burying-ground to the Centre Square Friends' Meeting-House, about 1682. The latter not being maintained very long, the ground came to be considered a public one—a sort of Potter's field—and was used without obstruction, for many years. Afterwards it was, with the approval and consent of the Society of Friends, assigned to the Guardians of the Poor, as a free burying-place for the indigent poor. It was sold some years ago by virtue of an Act of Assembly, about the constitutionality of which there may be considerable doubt.

— Four markets were opened in Boston in 1734 ; but so strong was the opposition, they were all closed in four years.

— In regard to the inquiries about the residence of Robert Fulton in Philadelphia, I desire to say that the old frame house now standing, situate on the east side of Second-street, above Gray's-alley, was occupied about the close of the Revolutionary war by James Duffel, a silversmith, with whom Robert Fulton, then a boy, was living as an apprentice, though perhaps not indentured. Mr. Duffel removed to Fredericksburg, Va., and came often to Philadelphia to purchase goods. I had dealings with him frequently. An old lady, who had been very intimate in his family, had many conversations with me, forty or fifty years ago, respecting the houses and the residents in the neighborhood of Church and Second streets. She remarked to me that among the boys who worked with Mr. Duffel and lived in his family was one (a very good boy) named Robert ; "and," said the old lady, "they tell me he was the first to start a "steamboat." I took the opportunity on the first occasion afterward of seeing Mr. Duffel, to speak to him on the subject. He said that the boy Robert, to whom the old lady alluded, was the Robert Fulton who had become so celebrated

for his success in steamboats. I do not recollect if he said anything about the length of time that Fulton was with him. It is quite likely that the time was not very long.

The brick house adjoining the frame building on the south, and generally known as Stephen Anthony's house, was taken down a few years ago. There were in the north wall, about as high above the roof of the frame as a boy might reach, two bricks in which letters were cut or nicked. One was marked R. F., the other J. D. Mr. Richardson, the owner, on my request, had these two bricks carefully removed without being broken, and presented them to me. It seems quite probable that the nicking was done by Robert Fulton, intended for his own initials and those of Mr. Duffel. I have taken care of the bricks.—*Correspondent of the Sunday Dispatch*.

— James Athearn (not Atheam) Jones was the publisher and editor of the *National Palladium* in 1828, and had associated with him, part of the time, Charles G. Greene—now, I believe, of the *Boston Post*. The *Freeman's Journal*, published by Joseph P. Hamelin (who I believe was in some way related to William McCorkle), was united with an afternoon paper, called the *City Register*, published by Mr. Uber, of which the late John Miles, Esq., was the editor. It was afterwards called the *National Palladium*, and became the property of the "Hickory Club," (Henry Horn, John Pemberton, Henry S. Hughes, & Co.,) and James A. Jones came on from Boston to manage it. He was afterwards assisted by Mr. Charles G. Greene, as stated above; and occasionally Duff Greene wrote the leaders. Mr. Greene, (Charles G.) got married and did not stay long in the concern; and, after Gen. Jackson was elected President, the paper, press, types, &c., went to the *American Sentinel*. Mr. Jones, who boarded in Fourth street, next door to the corner of Willing's alley, remained in the city only long enough to transact some unfinished business, and then left for Massachusetts. I do not think he ever went to England. Some years after he left this city a paragraph went the rounds of the papers, stating that as he was ploughing somewhere in Massachusetts, he turned up something that contained a quantity of gold and silver coins, and that is the last that I heard of him.—*Ibid*.

— The present street known as Cornhill is the fourth public avenue in Boston bearing that name. The first was on Fort Hill.

— Two stone tomahawks, four knives of hard stone, and a lot of other Indian antiquities, were found in a cave opposite Oleopolis, Pa., a few days since. Among the relics were several stone vessels and two skulls.

— Some of the Universalists propose, in 1870, to celebrate the introduction of Universalism into



America. In September, 1770, John Murray, supercargo of a vessel, was blown by contrary winds into a inlet in New Jersey, known as Cranberry inlet. Up this inlet, Mr. Murray went to buy some fish. He found a man who not only would not take any money for his fish, but notified him that he had built a church for Murray, had waited a long time for him, and that the wind that held the vessel fast would not change till the sermon was preached. The sermon was delivered on Sunday morning. In the afternoon the wind changed, and the apostle of the new faith sailed out of the harbor and began his ministry, and laid the foundation of the new sect that was introduced by a special miracle—by breaking the Sabbath. Murray tells this story in his biography and the Universalists profess to believe it.

— A recent number of the *Christian Guardian*, Toronto, contains a letter from the venerable Israel Chamberlayne, D. D. of the Genesee Conference, furnishing some interesting incidents connected with pioneer preaching in Canada. In 1816, Dr. Chamberlayne, then in the twentieth year of his age and third of his ministry, was sent by Rev. William Case, presiding elder, to labor on the Ottawa circuit. The letter says:

"Where the city of Ottawa now is, or near it, (opposite,) there was in the spring of 1816 a small village known as Hull. With no land road from below, it could only be reached by water, a distance of forty miles. Represented as all but destitute of Christian ministrations, the author of these reminiscences decided to reconnoitre and report. It was now June, and the Ottawa, now narrowed and more rapid, then expanded into dark eddying bays, was gloomy and dreadful. And this the rather as it was overhung and shaded by the primeval wood. The voyager in the stern, with his saddle-bags in the bow of his borrowed 'dug-out,' had paddled but fifteen miles of the forty, when—not in vigorous health—the sign of a cabin on the first head-land was hailed as a thankful relief from what had become all but a forlorn hope. He had scarcely hauled his canoe ashore and entered into a short questioning with the inmates of the hut, when lo! a fleet of the Hudson Bay Company's boats! To speak of the change of *modus procedendi* were superfluous. The boats—six in number—were birchen, and each of six tons capacity. But the romantic incident was a *Night in the Woods*. The boats were unloaded and hauled ashore; the camp-fires have extemporized the pea-soup; pipes have been smoked all round, when, just as the *parole vous*, with their single protegee, were sinking to repose, canopied only by the trees, it began to rain. *Presto*, a boat brought from the river is transversely stowed, Yankee and all; all are dry, and sleep well till

"daylight sees them heading for the 'Carrying Place,' an *alias* for the author's destination, which was gained in season for to assemble the settlement for an evening sermon. It was listened to, by some who had never heard one before, with avidity and tears."

— The fine statue of Hon. Thomas H. Benton, which has been on storage in St. Louis for several months, is at last to be erected in some suitable place. The statue is life size, and was made by Miss Harriet Hosmer, some years ago.

— A singular fact is connected with the New Jersey press. In the year 1800, a newspaper of that State contained an editorial complimentary address to the female voters of New Jersey for unanimously supporting John Adams for President in opposition to Mr. Jefferson.

— The late Caleb G. Loring, of Boston, was one of the Dartmoor prisoners, and a recipient of the barbarous treatment which the British authorities visited upon prisoners of war, in 1812-15.

— The man who wrote "Rally round the Flag," has gone into the flag-stone business. Instead of rally around the flag he *flags* around their *alley*. So says the Boston *Transcript*.

— President Day's first wife was a daughter of the great Connecticut statesman, Roger Sherman, by whom he had one son, Sherman Day, now living in California. She died in 1806, and in 1811 he married Olivia Jones of Hartford, by whom he had seven children, none of whom survived their father.

— The oldest existing newspaper in the United States is the *New Hampshire Gazette*, established in 1757.

— The San Francisco correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* says that he has seen a lease dated October fifth, 1853, for a room in the old Union Hotel in San Francisco (now converted into a part of the City Hall) at a rental of five hundred dollars per month, for one year to be used only as a private billiard room. The parties to this lease are Captain Isaac M. Hall, Captain Henry M. Wallen, now a Colonel or Brigadier-general, I believe, and Captain U. S. Grant, Fourth Infantry, United States Army, (a gentleman who has since been heard from at various points, East, West, and South,) of the first part, and Thomas H. Stevens (now a Commodore in the United States Navy), of the second part.

— Brown University has had five presidents, and has graduated 2267 students. Of these 165 were graduated under Dr. Manning's administration; 227 under that of Dr. Maxcy; 693 under that of Dr. Messer; 818 under Dr. Wayland, and 369 under Dr. Sears. Of these 583 have been ordained as preachers. One hundred and thirty of the students entered the Union army. Rhode Island is proud of the University, and well may be, for it is the best possession she has.

— Somebody has unearthed a ticket of the



Cumberland Mountain Road Lottery, dated 1768, and signed by George Washington as Treasurer.

—The *Brandon* (Texas) *Republican* of recent date, says of army-worms and caterpillars: "The first time the army-worm ever destroyed the cotton crop of the South, was in 1804, and it has done the same thing every twenty-one years since. It 1825 it made a clean sweep, and again in 1846, and from present appearances, it will do the same thing in 1867. A gentleman, just up from Simpson, inform us that they are nearly all over that county. Another gentleman from Smith says that they are doing great damage there; and our exchanges, from various quarters, report them in almost every section of the State. We have heard of them on several plantations in this county, but as yet they have not done much damage; and if the weather continues dry, and hot, they may not do much; but if a rainy spell sets in the crop will be destroyed."

—By the names on the counterpanes, it would seem that the original intention was to call the boats of the Bristol line respectively *The Pilgrim* and *The Puritan*. Sober second thought, we suppose, led to the conclusion that these would be misnomers, as connecting the memory of our sober and severe ancestors with entirely too much of the magnificent luxury of their descendants.

—The only instance during our five years' war in which a private was breveted for meritorious conduct was in the case of Adolphus Leibschutz, a private of the Ninth Kansas Cavalry. Mr. Leibschutz is a Pole, who came to this country to help us in our struggle, and received his brevet for meritorious services at the battle of Prairie Grove, in Arkansas.

—James Gates Percival is buried in the wilds of Wisconsin, without any stone to mark his grave.

—The great-grandmother of General Grant was the grand-mother of the late General Peter B. Porter of Niagara Falls. Noah Grant, who came from Scotland and settled at Coventry, Conn., died early, and his widow married Peter Buel, by whom she had a daughter named Abigail. This Abigail was married to Dr. Joshua Porter of Salisbury, Conn., and they were the parents of the late Augustus and Peter Buel Porter of Niagara Falls.

## XV.—NOTES.

### A NEW IMPOSITION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

SIR: In the last number of *Harpers' Magazine*, is an article entitled "The Lost Jackson Boy," reviewing a work lately published in Chicago, entitled, *Life*

and Adventures of William Filley, who was stolen from his home in Jackson, Michigan, by the Indians, August 3d., 1837, and his safe Return from Captivity, October 19th, 1866, after an Absence of Twenty-nine Years.

As the article in question will be extensively read, and is written in full faith that William Filley is what he represents himself to be, will you permit me to scrutinize his narrative more critically than is there attempted.

That a boy by the name of William Filley was lost near Jackson, Mich., in 1837; and that a person appeared there about a year ago claiming to be this boy admits of no doubt. This person we are told, "speaks eleven different Indian dialects; he has been in seventeen different Indian tribes; he understands the secret of making steel out of iron by means of a liquid; he makes his razors out of old horse-shoes; he is skilled in the preparation of medicines, and has" [*for sale?*] "specimens of valuable medicines prepared by his own hands in caverns beneath perpetual snows." We are also informed that he intends to travel through the United States, when, for a consideration, doubtless, these medicines may be purchased. This looks "fishy." It looks like a first-class advertisement of an itinerant quack doctor.

The suspicion here excited rises to a certainty when we pursue the narrative. He says he was a medicine man and chief of the Camanches, and favors us with a description of their religion, and adds two "SONGS TO THE GREAT SPIRIT," in the original Camanche tongue. (p. 82.) *They are in the Ojibway-Algonkin dialect, and are copied word for word from SCHOOLCRAFT'S Indian Tribes, ii., 399!* This language is no more like Camanche, than English is like Hebrew. The book is evidently an impudent attempt at imposition by an illiterate vendor of nostrums. The descriptions of the manners and customs of the Osage and Camanche tribes are shallow and absurd, evidently picked at random from some popular work on "Indian Traits."

The work is fraudulent, and deserves to be classed with the *Narrative of John Hunter* and kindred fictions, only it is a far more impotent attempt at deception than Hunter's story.

I remain &c.,

D. G. BRINTON, M. D.

WEST CHESTER, PENN., Oct., 9, 1867.

BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL.—In the account of the Battle of Ramsour's Mill, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, July 1867. p. 27., "the moment the other put his head behind his tree, &c." ought to be "beyond his tree, &c."

The following may be added thereto:

In traveling through that part of the country a



few days ago we heard of the following stratagem practiced by one of the Tories to save his life, and afterwards related by himself. When they were defeated he ran into the mill-pond; and as he did so, he took up a large turtle lying on the bank, and waded into the water until it came up to his nose, just enabling him to breathe; he then put the turtle upon the top of his head, and kept it there. Being at a good distance from the shore, he thus passed unnoticed, and saved his life. This was equal to any device practised by Federal or Confederate soldier in the late war.

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.—The following is said to have occurred at this battle:

A soldier on the American side noticed a good deal of execution done in a particular place in his line and from a particular spot on the other side. On close inspection, he discovered that the firing on the British side was from behind a hollow chestnut tree and through a hole in it.

He aimed his gun repeatedly at this opening, and stopped the firing. After the battle was over, he examined the place and discovered that he had killed one of his own brothers, and wounded another, who had joined the British forces and had concealed themselves behind the tree. He reflected upon himself very severely, and became almost deranged in consequence.

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON'S LAST SICKNESS.

EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

SIR: In looking over some back numbers of your Magazine, my attention was attracted to a communication, in Vol. IX, No. 12, from Brantz Mayer, Esq., on "Washington's Mortal Sickness," containing a version of the certificate of Drs. Craik and Dick who attended the General in his last illness. I say a version because I have two other versions of the same, varying essentially both in phraseology and in important facts from the one sent you by Mr. Mayer, and differing also in a slight extent from each other. One of these which I have is to be found in the last number for 1799, of *The Monthly Magazine and American Review*; and the other in the *Works of William Cobbett*, who copies it from *The N. Y. Daily Advertiser* of December 30th, 1799.

In both of these New York versions, a fourth bleeding—at which thirty-two ounces (a quart) of blood was drawn—is mentioned; but is left out of the Baltimore version altogether.

Cobbett makes use of this in one of his attacks

on Dr. Rush. I am aware that Cobbett is not generally considered first-rate authority; but as his version of the certificate does not vary materially from that of *The Monthly Magazine and American Review*, I see no cause to doubt his integrity in this matter, but am, on the contrary, inclined to believe with him that General Washington was doctored to death.

NEW YORK.

C. L. W.

#### THE EARLY SETTLERS IN KANSAS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

SIR: The way in which Kansas was settled, and the privations of those who, in her early state, went there, will become interestingly historical; and every little incident in this direction will be worth present preservation.

I have a letter now before me, dated "Lawrence, Kansas, August 28, 1859," written by a young Irishman, named William J. King, which shows what privations he and two companions suffered and what befell a number of emigrants who had preceded him. By the way, the writer died a short time ago of typhus fever at Lawrence. It may be well I should give you the whole of his epistle, written to his father in Ireland.

"I have just returned from the gold mines of Western Kansas, in good health and spirits. It is now a fixed fact that these mines are as rich as those in California. I intend returning to the mines again with a stock of goods about the first of next April; and I have every faith that it will pay me well there next summer. I made about enough money to pay my expenses out to the mines and back to Lawrence, and have got a good mining claim which I think will pay me ten dollars per day, next Summer. There are about twenty thousand persons there already, and nearly all are doing well, while the emigration next summer will be large. I wrote to you that I had started to the gold country with three others on horseback; and I assure you we had a hard trip of it. On the route which we went we had to travel about six hundred miles over a barren desert, without any road to travel on, and nothing but our compass to guide us. We encountered a great many snow storms, which delayed us so long on the way, that our provisions gave out, and we lived for four days without tasting food, and three days at one time without any water. There had been at least twenty persons starved to death on that route, and I know of one person who was so insane from hunger that he ate portions of two of his own brothers after they had died, while a great many others devoured snakes, roots, etc. So you may guess how we had rather a bad time of it. But it was all occasioned by our starting to the mines too early in the season.



"We had a very valuable setter dog along with us; and when we had lived three days without eating, it was determined by the balance of the company to kill the dog and feed upon him. I begged so hard to let him live one day longer that his life was spared for a single day. Before that time was passed, we reached Bent's Fort, where we were supplied with plenty of food; and here we remained a week to recruit our exhausted bodies. The balance of the way to the mines, two hundred miles, was pleasant, as we had a road to travel on and a quantity of provisions with us."

Yours faithfully,  
CHARLES EDWARDS.

NEW YORK.

#### XVI.—QUERIES.

LOBSTERS AND NEW YORK.—It was said in an old New York newspaper, that the first vote of thanks passed by the New York Legislature, was some years before the Revolutionary war, when the thanks of the Colonial Legislature were given to William Richards of Philadelphia, for having come to New York for the purpose of planting lobsters, which formerly were imported from Rhode Island. Is this true? If so a copy of such vote ought to find its way into the columns of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

PRAWN.

DUTCH SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK.—A subscriber desires to know, up to how late the Dutch language was taught in the schools of New York?

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—It would be a very acceptable service to students and collectors if a carefully prepared list of the various publications under the imprint of this Society could find a place in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The Editor of that work, with probably a single exception, is best able to furnish such a list; and I earnestly hope he will do so.

A COLLECTOR.

CLEVELAND, O.

MAJOR ANDRE.

UTICA, N. Y., October, 1, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: Can you or any of your correspondents inform me as to the veracity of a singular dream prefiguring the arrest and execution of Major Andre, as found on page 318 of vol. ii., Seafield's *Literature and Curiosity of Dreams*?

If Mr. Cunningham actually had the dream there

related, it seems to me to be one of the most remarkable, as well as an interesting incident connected with Major Andre.

Yours truly,  
R. S. WILLIAMS.

EMIGRANTS FROM VIRGINIA.—The clerk of the Augusta County Court asks for the names and post-office address of all persons who have emigrated from Augusta, Rockbridge, and Rockingham Counties; also the names of their descendants. Address box 134, Staunton, Va.

JEFFERSON AND ADAMS.—In a little volume of travels published in 1833, by Thomas F. Ash, of Philadelphia, and written by Godfrey T. Vigne, Esq., page 112, we read, "The circumstances attending the deaths of Presidents Jefferson and Adams, were very extraordinary. A Committee of five \* was originally appointed to draw up the articles of the Constitution. Jefferson and Adams were selected as a sub-committee, and were in fact the real framers of the Constitution. These two gentlemen died on the fourth of July, in the same year," [1826, fifty years after the *Declaration of Independence*, which the author means evidently by *The Constitution*,] "and the news of their decease arrived at EXACTLY THE SAME TIME, ON THE SAME DAY, at Philadelphia, where the *Declaration of Independence* was signed."

It is to the latter part of this statement that we call attention; the words in small caps and italics, which we have seen nowhere else. If this is true, it renders the matter very providential indeed. Was it so?

E. F. R.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

SIR: I read the following in Lord John Russell's *Memoirs of Tom Moore*, (vii., 194.) "Breakfasted with Rogers to meet again the Americans. Conversation turned, curiously enough, before the son of Hamilton, though none of us seemed to have thought of this at the time, upon the prevalence of duelling in America; and Hamilton told some strange stories on the subject. Mr. Hamilton said there was no longer any doubt of his fathers' having been the writer of almost all of Washington's addresses."

Pray, how far is this historically known to be true? Is it sufficiently ascertained that Hamilton composed Washington's addresses? E.

[Can any one tell us which of the sons of Ham-

\* The committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and R. R. Livingston.



ilton was thus referred to by Moore? ED. HIST. MAG.]

THE CLERICAL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL THAT DISMISSED JONATHAN EDWARDS FROM NORTHAMPTON.—In the June number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, an attempt is made to show from what list of clergymen the ten members of the Council by which Jonathan Edwards was dismissed from Northampton must have been selected. Some further light is thrown upon this subject by "A Letter to the Rev. William Hobley, "in answer to his vindication of a protest against "the result of an Ecclesiastical Council met at "Northampton." This letter is signed by four out of the five members who were in sympathy with the Church and opposed to Edwards. For some reason the name of Jonathan Ashley, of Deerfield, a cousin of Edwards, does not appear on the list.

From this letter it appears, that beside the Deerfield ministers, those who were opposed to Edwards, were Robert Beach, of Springfield; Joseph Ashley, of Sunderland; Timothy Woodbridge, of Hatfield, and Chester Williams, of Hadley, who is stated in the article above referred to have been the Scribe of the Council.

The letter also gives the name of one of the friends of Edwards in the Council, not mentioned in the article. This was Rev. Mr. Reynold, of Enfield. If to these we add the names of David Hall, of Sutton; William Hobley, of Reading, and Edward Billings, of Belchertown, who are known to have been members of the council, only one out of the ten clergymen who were members of it remains unknown. Whoever he was, he was a friend of Edwards, and must be found on the list of the other ministers of the County. Thomas Strong, of New Marlborough, whose ordination sermon Edwards preached, and who had been a parishioner of Edwards; Jonathan Todd, of Southampton; John Ballantine, of Westfield; Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow; James Bridgman, of Brierfield; Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield; or his more distinguished namesake, Samuel Hopkins, of Great Barrington. It seems on some accounts most probable that it was Thomas Strong, of New Marlborough. Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE throw light on this question—who was the still unknown clerical member of the Council that dismissed Jonathan Edwards from the Church at Northampton?

E. H. G.

HARLEM, N. Y.

## XVII.—REPLIES.

### AMERICAN FLAGS.

#### I.

STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY, Oct. 7, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: I beg to offer to you the enclosed for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, if acceptable.

"American Flags" are inquired about, (*H. M.*, II., ii., 119). The inquirer has probably seen Schuyler Hamilton's *The History of the National Flag of the United States of America*. Phila., 1853, pp. 115, 120.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. A. HOMES.

#### II.

WEST POINT, N. Y. Sept. 28, 1867.

DEAR SIR: Your correspondent, "B. A.," on page 119 of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for August, desires information regarding the origin of the American Flag.

It may be found in a work entitled *The History of the National Flag of the United States*, by [now] Brevet Major-general Schuyler Hamilton, U. S. A., published by Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1853.

I am truly yours,

E. C. BOYNTON.\*

#### III.

An interesting account of our early National banners will be found in Smith's *History of Newburyport*; and it is partly from this work, and Savage's *Lectures*, (1853) we give what follows: The first colors spoken of in connection with our war of independence were called Union Flags. They are repeatedly noticed in the newspapers of 1774. The first American Flag displayed in South Carolina was that unfurled by Colonel Moultrie, 1775. It bore a crescent on a blue ground. In October of the same year, a pine tree on a white ground, with the words, "Appeal to Heaven," was raised on the floating batteries, and was adopted by the Massachusetts cruisers in 1776. The great Union Standard, the basis of that of the present day, was first unfurled on the second of January, 1776. This was followed by a naval flag, which bore a rattle-snake, with the motto, DON'T TREAD ON ME. Some of the banners, however, previous to 1776, exhibited a snake with thirteen rattles, in a crimson ground interlaced with white, by some supposed in compliment to France, but more recently by others as representing those in the armorial bearing of Gen-

\* We welcome Captain Boynton to our pages; and we are sure that we speak the sentiments of the great body of our readers when we say that the contributions thereto of the able historian of West Point will always be welcome. ED. HIST. MAG.



eral Washington. A description of this flag is given in a London paper published in 1776.

It is claimed that the "Stars and Stripes," as the American ensign, were first displayed on the river Thames, Connecticut, by Captain Nicholas Johnson of Newburyport, Commander of the ship *Count de Grasse*; but this honor has been since claimed in behalf of the barque *Maria*, which subsequently went into the whaling trade. She returned to New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1856; and is asserted to be the oldest craft in the United States. Paul Jones was the first to carry the American banner to Europe. This was in 1777.

A new "Star-Spangled Banner" made its appearance in the river Thames, London, in October, 1851, showing five stars, emblematical of the British Colonies of New South Wales, the Australias, and Van Dieman's Land.

WAR IN DISGUISE. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, N. S. II., 41, 121.]—The *Answer to War in Disguise*, New York, 1806, is ascribed in the Catalogue of the Library of the Albany Institute, and also in that of the New York State Library to Gouverneur Morris. The copy in the Institute Library had belonged to the late Stephen Van Rensselaer, who is the author probably for the statement. In Sparks' *Life of Morris*, the pamphlet is also spoken of as Morris's.

ALBANY, N. Y.

H. A. H.

#### THE "RUNIC INSCRIPTION."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

The *Richmond Examiner* shrewdly suggests that "Thomas C. Raffinon, Fellow of the Royal 'Society of Northern Antiquities,' who contributed to the Washington *Evening Union* 'a description of a discovery made by him recently, 'of a Runic inscription on a rock near George-town,' has been hoaxed. It seems very probable, on the contrary, that both papers have been hoaxed by some foolish joker. If so, the introduction into the story of the name, 'W. Langly, '1758,' may afford some clue to the motive.

Charles C. Rafn, for many years the Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, died, I believe, within three or four years. He took a deep interest in the early Icelandic History, and his great work entitled *Antiquitates Americanae sine Scriptores Septentrionales verum Antecolumbinarum in America*, was published by the Society in 1837. "Thomas C. Raffinon" is most likely an assumed name, intended to suggest that of Charles C. Rafn, and so to set the story afloat among those who have simply heard the name of the Secretary of the Royal Society. The insertion of the story in your Magazine, even under the heading of FLOTSAM, makes it worth

while to notice this, what, seen in the daily and weekly papers, seemed worthy only of a smile.

Perhaps it may be of interest to add that on the twenty-third of December, 1851, I addressed a note to Secretary Rafn, with a copy of a newly published *School History of the United States*, in which two or three pages were devoted to the Ante-Columbian History of this Continent. In reply, he states that "the section of the discoveries of the Northmen contains sundry inaccuracies and material errors owing to the author's 'having been unacquainted with my work entitled '*Antiquitates Americanae*. This has occasioned 'the drawing up of a brief sketch directly based 'upon the ancient records in the Old Northern or 'Old Danish language, which have been preserved 'in Icelandic MSS., at Copenhagen.

"This sketch is now transmitted to you, (and to 'the Historical Society of New Jersey,) and may, 'at pleasure, be regarded as a manuscript for insertion in ———'s *History of the United States*, 'or in any other publication where it may find 'a suitable place, and serve to diffuse the knowledge of this historical fact." This under date of July twenty-ninth, 1852.

Speaking of the same sketch, under date of August second, 1852, he says, "I have drawn up 'a brief sketch, etc." His first note being indefinite as to the author of the compilation, he adds, "Alexander Humboldt, and other inquirers, who 'have had an opportunity of consulting the 'above-mentioned work, have fully acknowledged this [historical fact?] as well as also the 'position given in the work to the countries discovered, the accurate knowledge whereof seems 'to deserve to be more widely diffused."

This sketch would fill about two pages of your Magazine, and as I am not aware that it has ever been published in this country, save in the *Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society*, for 1853, it might be well to transfer it to your more widely circulated Magazine. See said *Proceedings*, pp., 166, 167, 168, 167, 168, (sic.)

Very truly yours,

"FREDERICK FELYPSEN."

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

APING RANK OF TITLE. (H. M., II., ii. 119, August, 1867.)—The Sovereign of Ava is entitled to be designated "The King of the Twenty-four 'Umbrellas;" while the Governor of Massachusetts is really by law "His Excellency," and the Lieutenant-Governor, "His Honor." And it has been common with us to give the prefix of honorable to ministers named to foreign courts, judges, senators and mayors, while they hold office; but they all, when their term of office expires, drop into themselves, and can have nothing more about them than their unfledged Christian and surname.



They may remain honorable in their conduct, but their wings of honor are gone.

GOVERNEUR MORRIS. (*H. M.*, II., ii., p. 41.) This distinguished statesman lost his leg in May, 1780. In driving his phaeton through the streets of Philadelphia, his horses took fright and threw him to the pavement with such violence as to dislocate his ankle and fracture the bones of his left leg. His favorite physician, Dr. Jones, being out of town, two others were called in, who advised immediate amputation as the only means of saving his life; and his leg was taken off below the knee. It has been said that Dr. Jones was never satisfied with the precipitancy of the attending physicians, not thinking amputation necessary; and the case is often referred to by surgical lecturers as a caution against rash and precipitate decisions. He had a rough oak stick fitted to his limb, and used that through life in preference to a cork leg.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

R.

### XVIII.—BOOKS.

#### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Battles of the United States, by Sea and Land*. By Henry B. Dawson. Revised and corrected edition. Volume I. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867.

*Battles of the War of the Revolution*. By Henry B. Dawson. Volume I. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867. Quarto and octavo, [Part I.] pp. two titles, 96.

At length, after many provoking delays, the first number of this long looked-for work has been issued to the subscribers; and, although we have not yet seen all the typographical beauty in it that we have been led to expect, we have seldom seen a more beautiful specimen of printing.

It is a carefully revised edition of a widely known work, to be made complete by the addition of those portions which were omitted from the original edition and of descriptions of the many Battles of the recent Warsboth, Indian and Civil; and it has been printed, as far as it has gone, with great care, by Messrs. J. M. Bradstreet & Son. The portrait of Washington, after Trumbull by Mr. H. B. Hall, of this town, is one of the finest specimens we have yet seen of that gentleman's work.

The Prospectus promised an edition of twenty-five quartos and one hundred octavos, "*and no more*;" and we trust that there will be less delay than usual in getting out the remainder of the work. "Life is short;" yet we shall be glad to see the work finished during the era of the present generation.

2.—*Gleanings from the Harvest-field of American History*. By Henry B. Dawson. Part I. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867.

*The Park and its Vicinity, in the City of New York*. By Henry B. Dawson. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 95.

This is the first number of its author's *Gleanings*; as it was the first-fruits of his earliest at-

tempt to write on American History, nearly thirteen years ago.

There is perhaps only one other of our "Works" which possesses as deep a hold on our regard as this, since it was our first; and now, nearly thirteen years after it was written, as we look back over the intervening period, on our lonely toil, and scanty income, and broken health, and unceasing cares, and paralysing disappointments, we sometimes think that we have dearly paid for the small amount of knowledge which we have acquired and disseminated, and as dearly purchased the very small bubble of public respect which bears our name. Indeed, these thirteen years have been crowded with almost ceaseless toil and trouble; and it is only when we turn to the personal friends—ever indulgent, ever extending their sympathy, ever prompting us to still greater efforts to ascertain and protect the Truth—which our pen has secured for us, that we take courage, "pick our flint," and continue our labor.

We have read the proofs of this handsome reprint of our first born Historical pages; and we have found nothing which needs our correction therein, save a couple of allusions to buildings which have since disappeared and now require amended descriptions of the places where they stood. It was originally written in haste, from materials gathered on the spot, with the printer's boys waiting for the manuscript; yet we are proud to recognize it, unrevised, as our own; and shall never be ashamed of anything which is not less worthy of respect.

It is exactly uniform with our *Putnam*, and *Stony Point*, and *Hoves' Diary*; and, as a specimen of fine printing it reflects credit on the Bradstreet Press, where it was printed.

The edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies; and only one size was printed.

3.—*History and General Description of New France*. By Rev. P. F. X. DeCharlevoix, S. J. Translated, with Notes, by John Gilmary Shea. In six volumes. Volume II. New York: J. G. Shea, 1866. Quarto and octavo, pp., 6 unpagcd, 285.

Books IV., V., VI., and VII., of the original edition of this standard history, have been reproduced in this splendid volume; and the learned and amiable Editor has increased their importance by adding a series of original Notes, of very great value.

Although the edition numbers only Two hundred and seventy-five copies, we regret to learn that so many have failed to honor their subscriptions that the actual cost of manufacturing the volumes has not yet been secured; and Mr. Shea has been constrained to appeal for an increased patronage to save himself from loss thereon. May not we add our earnest request that all who respect



the History of their Country, especially those in the mighty West, whose cries of exultation on the Westward march of Empire are so very noteworthy, will extend to this modest, but patient and indefatigable scholar the support which he merits?

4.—*Eulogy on George Washington*. By Francis Kinloch of Georgetown, S. C. New York: Privately printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. ii., 19.

This is one of those elegant trifles which are produced now-a-days, for presents only, by the few whose fortune, and taste, and love of choice literature combine in prompting to good works.

It is a carefully prepared retrospect of the Life and Services of General Washington; and was prepared at the request of the inhabitants of Georgetown, to be delivered on the twenty-second of February, 1800, a few weeks after his death.

This re-print, apparently a *fac-simile*, is the work of the Bradstreet Press; and the edition numbers sixty copies. It was printed for a gentleman in New York; and is only used for presents to his personal friends.

5.—*The Descendants of John Phenix, an Early Settler in Kittery, Maine*. By S. Whitney Phenix. New York: Privately printed, 1867. Large octavo, pp. vi., 53.

John Phenix, the ancestor of those whose names are recorded in this volume, was an honest Scot who settled at Kittery, in Maine, prior to 1664, and lived to a good old age, leaving, at his death, a son and two daughters; and this volume narrates, with great detail, the descendants of these to the present day.

This ancient family seems to have been known, successively as FFENNICK, FFENIX, FENNICK, FFEANIX, FENICK, PHENIX, FENWICK, FENIX, FENNICKS, FINICK, FFINNIX, etc; until, at length, the name has become fixed on PHENIX; and in this elegant volume our respected friend, Stephen Whitney Phenix, of another family, has faithfully traced its members through their various styles.

If we are not mistaken, Mr. Phenix has now entered the brotherhood of authors for the first time; and we heartily bid him welcome. The patient research which he has displayed in the preparation of this work for the Press, bespeaks his fitness for more generally important labors in the field of History and Biography; and as the laborers in that harvest are few, so worthy an addition to the force which is now there will be very acceptable.

Of this work, Typographically, we need only say that it is printed in the best style of the Bradstreet Press, with old-style types on *one side only* of the finest tinted, laid paper. The Edition numbered, originally, Five quartos and One hundred

octavos; but Mr. Phenix has destroyed Sixty copies of the octavo, and the work is already very rare. It is printed only for private circulation.

6.—*Vassar College and its Founder*. By Benson J. Lossing. New York: C. A. Alvord, 1867. Octavo, pp. 175.

There are few men who have passed through such varied scenes as Matthew Vassar, the celebrated brewer of Poughkeepsie. Born of poor parents, removed to a strange country at an early age, without fortune or influence, he has nevertheless built a name for himself, in his business relations, which will be long remembered in the annals of American enterprise; and now, in his old age, he has seized other honors, in other fields, to which no one supposed, until within the past few years, he had ever aspired.

His munificent foundation of Vassar College, for the education of young women in all the higher branches of knowledge is well known; and in the elegantly illustrated volume before us, prepared by an early and dear friend of ours, we have a fit tribute to the worth of the Founder of that important institution.

Opening with a sketch of Mr. Vassar's life and the origin and progress of his devotion of a princely fortune to the cause of female education, it closes with a minute description of the institution itself in all its departments. It is written in the easy flowing style which marks all Mr. Lossing's productions; and as a specimen of book-making, wood-engraving and printing—it is peculiarly noteworthy, reflecting the greatest credit on both Lossing & Barrett, by whom the blocks were cut, and Mr. Alvord, by whom they were printed.

We believe the volume was printed for private circulation only.

7.—*History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, in Virginia, in 1675 and 1676*. Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons. 1867. Octavo, pp. 50.

In December, 1812, the late Josiah Quincy, then in Congress, received from Hon. William Burwell, a Representative from Virginia, an ancient manuscript, apparently contemporary with the event, concerning the Rebellion of Bacon and Ingram, in 1675-6; and it was deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose custody it still remains.

It is very important, as materials for History, and the Society has recently printed it *verbatim et literatim*, in a volume of its *Proceedings*. Two hundred copies, in a separate form, with a brief *Prefatory Note*, have also been printed for private circulation; and we are indebted for the copy before us to the kindness of Charles Deane, Esq., of Cambridge.



Like all such works from Messrs. Wilson's Press, it is very beautifully printed.

8.—A Sermon preached at Boston, in New England, upon a Fast Day, the 19th of January, 1636-37. By the Rev. John Wheelwright. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for 1866-67. Cambridge: John Wilson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 22.

Those who have seen THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for April, 1867, have noticed in its pages a copy of this celebrated State-paper, *therein first printed*: those who shall see this tract and the volume from which it was taken, will be very likely to suppose that Boston had first ushered into the world this most notable piece of contemporary evidence of Boston's primitive intolerance. We make this note of what seems to be a very inconsistent way of fairly doing one's duty to our neighbor as we would he should do his duty to us. "Nothing more."

Our readers know all about this Sermon; and we will only detain them long enough, therefore, to say that Twenty-five copies only were printed in this edition, all of which were for presents.

9.—Remarks on Sebastian Cabot's *Mappe-Monde*. By Charles Deane. Reprinted from The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, for April, 1867. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1867. Octavo, pp. 8.

While Mr. Deane was in Paris in 1866, he procured a copy of the celebrated re-print, by M. Jomard, of Sebastian Cabot's *Mappe-Monde*; and in October of that year he addressed the Society on that subject. At the meeting in April last, Mr. Deane formally presented this Map to the Society, and accompanied it with some remarks illustrative of the history of the Map, which are here reproduced, with very elaborate foot-notes, for private circulation among the friends of their author.

Mr. Deane has very carefully elaborated his Notes; and to every student of early American History, this Tract will prove very acceptable.

The edition numbered fifty copies.

10.—Seal of the "Council for New England." Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Sons. 1867. Octavo, pp. 4.

The seals of the Virginia Company and the Bermudas Company have been known to archaeologists, but that of "The Council for New England" has been a mystery; and Mr. Deane, not without reason, supposes he has discovered it in the elaborate design which is on the title-page of John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles*, Edition, London, 1624, and on the reverse of the title-page of the same Author's *Advertisement for the Unexperienced Planters of New England*, Edition, London, 1631.

As we said, Mr. Deane seems to have good reasons for urging this supposition; and we know no reason to dispute it beyond the naked fact that there is no other evidence on the subject than Mr. Deane's very reasonable guess—indeed, that will hardly be considered as *evidence*, although it will be considered as an *inference*, which seems to be well-founded.

The tract before us is a private print, for presents only; and the edition numbered thirty copies only.

11.—The Last Will and Testament of Captain John Smith; with some Additional Memoranda Relating to Him. Reprinted from the Proceedings of The Massachusetts Historical Society, for January 1867. Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons, 1867. Small quarto, pp., title, and verso, and 7.

There is so much romance connected with the stories concerning Captain John Smith, that the discovery of hidden truths concerning him cannot be otherwise than acceptable to every student of History. There is a peculiar fitness, also, that such discoveries should be presented to the world by Mr. Deane, who has done so much to strip the memory of the Captain of very much renown which never truly belonged to it.

It seems that the father of Smith was a small farmer, a tenant on the Willoughby estate in Lincolnshire; and that John was born at Willoughby, near Alford—the latter, subsequently, the home of Anne Hutchinson—on the sixth of January, 1579. He had one brother and one sister; made a will on the twenty-first of June 1631; and died on the same day.

In the volume before us, we have an extract from the will of the Captain's father, the entry on the *Parish Register* of the Captain's birth, his will, a *fac-simile* of his signature, the Broadside Prospectus of his *Generall Historie*, and the epitaph on his tomb—the latter now obliterated.

It will be seen that the volume contains a curious and interesting collection of *authentic* material concerning the notable Captain; and although Mr. Deane has scattered the story of his adventures in Virginia and rescue by Pocahontas, he has not left us without an equivalent in the more useful papers which we have enumerated.

This little volume is beautifully printed, exclusively for presents; and the edition numbers fifty copies only.

12.—Genealogy of a part of the Ripley Family. Compiled by H. W. Ripley, Newark, N. J.: A. S. Holbrook. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 48.

A very neatly printed and modest attempt to place on record the members of a family which originated, in America, with William Ripley, an emigrant from Hingham, Norfolk, England, who was one of the early settlers in Hingham, Mass.,



having drawn a town lot in what is now Hingham Centre, in 1638.

The writer, a stranger to us, is evidently an aged gentleman, who has amused himself by corresponding with the different members of the family, not always with satisfactory results, and arranging the materials which he has thus obtained, for the Press. As we have said, he makes no undue pretensions and affects no airs; but in the most simple business-like style, he has arranged his statistics, and submitted them to the world. He has, in his quiet way, rendered a service to his kinsmen and to the student of our Country's History, which merits their warmest gratitude; and we earnestly hope that it will not be withheld—we most certainly tender him our own.

We believe the little work referred to is not offered for sale.

13.—History of the City of New York. By Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. [In two volumes.] New York: W. R. C. Clark, 1867. Royal octavo, pp. 892.

In our number for July, we invited the attention of our readers to the general excellencies of this newly revised History of the Metropolis, and our surprise that the worthy authoress had succeeded so completely in her difficult and thankless task. We have how the equally agreeable duty to remind them of what we said of this work, while we acknowledge the receipt of a most sumptuous copy, on tinted, laid paper of large size and fine texture, from the Bradstreet Press; and we trust that Miss Booth will receive, in this branch of her enterprize, the solid support of all who admire handsome books.

The edition numbers one hundred copies.

14.—Dictionary of the United States Congress, compiled as a manual of reference for the legislator and statesman. By Charles Lanman. Third Edition; revised and brought down to July twenty-eighth, 1866. [Washington, D. C.:] Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. viii., 602.

We are indebted to our friend, the Author, for a second copy of this work, the first of which did not reach us; and although behind time, we desire to bear our testimony to the usefulness of the compilation, to those whose leisure is too limited to allow them to investigate for themselves, in out-of-the-way places, concerning the Federal authorities.

Of the members of Congress referred to, we need only say that the *best* as well as the *worst* of our countrymen have been in Congress; and as the personal vices of such as Webster have not been more notable than the personal virtues of such as Calhoun, such a compendium of the lives and services of every Member of Congress as we have here must, necessarily, be exceeding useful for reference.

But it is to the Appendix of the volume that we desire to direct especial attention. There is therein a perfect mine of information concerning every branch of the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive Departments of the Federal Government, and the Diplomatic Corps; and we have noticed very few drawbacks which are of sufficient importance to require notice.

We must, however, object to the statement, (pp. 514-516) that *The Declaration of Independence*, which was agreed to on the fourth of July, 1776, was *then or at any other time*, ordered to "engrossed and signed by members," and to the inference which such a statement conveyed that *that* was the particular *Declaration* which was thus signed and transmitted to us. Had Mr. Lanman examined the archives of the Secretary's office, he would have made some very interesting discoveries on this subject; and we commend the subject to his notice.

*The Articles of Confederation* are presented in an unexceptionable form, as is, also, the *Constitution for the United States*, except the title of the latter, in which a very important change has been made, and the *Amendments* thereto, from which have been omitted, in their proper places, the exceedingly important *Preamble* to the first ten Amendments thereto, and the several Preambles, less important, of those which have been subsequently ratified.

There is, also, in this Appendix, a great deal of very important information concerning the several States which cannot readily be found in any other work; and we understand that still further improvements are in progress for the next edition.

15.—Centennial Celebration of the Town of Orford, N. H., containing the Oration, Poems, and Speeches, delivered on Thursday, September 7, 1865, with some additional matters relating to the history of the place. [Sine loco, sine anno.] Octavo, pp. 145.

We have been favored by our valued friend, David E. Wheeler, Esq., with a copy of this exceedingly interesting local, and we propose hereafter, to make special mention of at least one subject which is herein presented to our notice, while, to-day, we shall content ourselves with a general notice of the volume and the occasion which it commemorates.

Orford, we understand is one of those quiet little towns in New Hampshire, which are better able to produce great men than to retain them; and like some of her sisters, she seems to have called back the wanderers from her borders—her prodigal sons, it may be—on the occasion of her one-hundredth birth-day; shaken them by the hand and received their respectful compliments; given them a good dinner and an opportunity to put their best feet foremost; and then dismissed them to the distant scenes of their respective labors.



Orford rang her bells, discharged her artillery, flung out her banners, blowed all her music, displayed all the sturdy sons who had not abandoned her, and all the frugal daughters to whom those sons had become subject, the four hundred children—ruddy with good health, joyous because of the strange scenes which passed before them, and patriotic as their little heads and hearts could make them—which God had given her, and, generally, made a great hubbub in the outside corner of creation, on which she had rested these hundred years or more; while Orford's children, wanderers from Orford's fold, and Orford's neighbors, as all good neighbors should, "poured "in from every direction," showed themselves to Orford and to each other, listened to Orford's eloquence, joined in Orford's choruses, sat down at Orford's well-filled tables, congratulated the centenarian on her good fortune, eat her "fatted calf," which had been killed for the occasion, and then, with good wishes for her continued happiness, bade her "Good-bye," and returned to the places from which they had come.

The Oration was a good one—historical and without any clap-trap. The Hymns were appropriate and well-written—we have no doubt they were also well sung. The after-dinner Addresses were admirable, in every respect, since Orford kept every one sober and sensible.

The volume before us commemorates this commemoration and speaks to those of the next century concerning that which has past. It is just such a volume as Orford should have sent down the stream of Time; unless the want of an imprint shall set the Orford boys off 1965, wondering *who* printed and published it. It is neat, inexpensive, complete: what more was required? what more will be desired?

16.—General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine, Churches and Ministers from 1672 to 1867; with the Minutes of the Forty-first Annual Meeting, held with the Pine-Street Congregational Church, Lewiston, June 25, 26, 27, 1867. Portland: Brown, Thurston & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 157.

This volume, the work, we believe, of Deacon E. F. Duren of Bangor, is a monument to his industry and good judgment, and when he modestly says, "it will be found a convenient record for "present use, and form a basis for the future "historian," he says far less than could have been said, justly.

Thus: every Church appears in its place on the record, with the date of its organization, the names of each of its successive Pastors or Stated-supplies, the date of his settlement, that of his dismission, and that of his death, or, if still living, his present residence. There is an *Appendix*, also, in which each Church again appears, with a collection of "additional facts," of great interest as

special local histories of each parish—brief, yet clearly expressed and not unimportant, even to strangers; and there is, also, a Chronological arrangement of the Churches, according to the order of their formation.

The Minutes close the volume; and in these, too, we find the most elaborate tabular statements, displayed with all the labor and skill of the most patient statistician.

We believe the volume can be bought for Fifty cents; and we advise every collector of "locals" to obtain a copy.

17.—Short Studies on Great Subjects. By James Anthony Froude. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 534. Price \$3.

In this volume we have a collection from the periodical literature of England, of the Essays of England's great Historian; and the impress of his genius may be found on every page. Indeed, although we do not admire his religious opinions, as we understand them, there is so much originality and independence of thought in Mr. Froude's writings, and so many attractions of style, that we find it more difficult to return this volume to the table than it was to pick it up, even at the close of a hard day's work; and we can do no less, therefore, than to commend it to the attention of our readers.

Hear what he says of HISTORY, and tell us, you who know, if Froude has not read our American newspapers; "It often seems to me as if History "was like a child's box of letters, with which we "can spell any word we please. We have only "to pick out such letters as we want, arrange "them as we like, and say nothing about those "which do not suit our purpose."

Who will say that the writer of these lines was not worthy of such setting as the Riverside press has awarded to him in this handsome volume?

18.—The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. By T. F. Curtis, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 336.

The writer of this volume, if we do not mistake is a Baptist clergyman, with whom, many years ago, we were associated in one of the Historical Societies in New York; and our recollections of him are agreeable and have always commanded our warmest respect. He has since been Professor of Theology at Lewisburg, Penn.; and this volume is a condensation of his lectures before his class in the University at that place on the great subject of the Inspiration of the Scriptures.

Whatever Professor Curtis may have been when he was called to the Ministerial office by an Evangelical Baptist Church, it is very evident that like Strauss, he has become more and more skeptical as he grows older; and he stands now, if we un-



derstand him aright, openly denying the truth of the current theories of the infallibility of Scripture Inspiration—that the Bible is of Divine origin and the only Rule of Faith and Practice.

It will not be expected of us to enter into a discussion of the merits or demerits of the work, in all its details; yet we cannot deny ourself the pleasure of saying that nothing which we have found in the volume before us has convinced us of the stability of this, the Professors *last* resting place while on his way to Infidelity—it is evidently anything else than a Rock, and is not such a spot as a wise man would have selected as a site for his dwelling.

We cannot wish that success to the work which we should have been glad to have extended to it, under other circumstances.

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19.—*Home Life: a Journal.* By Elizabeth M. Sewell. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 405.

This "Journal" is in fact a tale through which the Authoress desires to illustrate not only a few fundamental principals of education, but the difficulties and disappointments attendant upon the endeavor to carry them out under ordinary circumstances and amongst ordinary people.

It is neatly printed and will doubtless find many admirers, especially among those who are engaged in teaching "the young idea how to shoot."

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20.—*Manual of Physical Exercises: comprising Gymnastics, Rowing, Skating, Fencing, Cricket, Calisthenics, Sailing, Swimming, Sparring, Base-ball, together with Rules for Training and Sanitary Suggestions.* By William Wood. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 316.

In this very handsome volume we have what appears to be a very complete manual of Gymnastic and Athletic Exercises, illustrated with One hundred and twenty-five well-executed illustrations; and as it has met the hearty approval of sundry young Gymnasts and Ball-players at Morrisania with whom we are acquainted—all of whom know more of these subjects than we do—we feel at liberty to say that it is of unusual excellence and will be exceedingly acceptable to the young people in every part of the country.

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21.—*The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby.* By Charles Dickens. With Eight Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. Small Octavo, pp. x., 155.

22.—*The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit.* By Charles Dickens. With Eight Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. Small octavo, pp., vii., 522.

These volumes form Numbers II., and III., of "The Charles Dickens Series" of Dickens' Works, now in course of publication by Ticknor & Field of Boston.

Of the character of the works themselves, we

need say nothing, since our readers know quite as much concerning that subject as we do; but we cannot forbear referring again to the beauty of the typography and the extremely low price at which these volumes are sold.

To the multitude of Boz's admirers, the publication of these works is a perfect God-send.

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23.—*Indiana Miscellany: consisting of sketches of Indiana Life, the Early Settlements, Custom, and Hardships of the People, and the introduction of the Gospel and of Schools. Together with Biographical Notices of the Pioneer Methodist Preachers of the State.* By Rev. William C. Smith. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 304

The very extended title, which we have copied in full, correctly describes the contents of this neatly printed volume.

It is a Western "local" of considerable interest and value, without being very elaborate in its details or very full of pretence. It seems to have been written by a Methodist clergyman, a native of Indiana, and an enthusiastic lover of the home of his father—the State where he was born, and of which he is a citizen—and, strange as it may seem to some, the fear of "sectional pride" seems never to have haunted him.

We are glad to commend it to the collectors of local histories, as well as to those of our readers who love to trace the rise and progress, in the wilderness, of the Christian Church.

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24.—*Diary of a Southern Refugee, during the War.* By a Lady of Virginia. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 360.

This seems to be a Diary, written by a lady, the wife of a clergyman, as her family was driven from place to place, during the eventful days of the recent war.

It is written with exceeding great ability; and as it presents an inside view of the seceding States, with their stirring rumors and heart-rending realities, it will continue to be of great service to all who desire to look into the History of that period, from the Confederate stand point.

It will be very acceptable to those who are making collections concerning the recent war.

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25.—*Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Living New York Physicians.* By Samuel W. Francis, A. M., M. D. New York: George P. Putnam & Son. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 228.

Into this volume, a son of our late honored friend, Doctor John W. Francis, LL. D., has collected some very pleasant little sketches of living New York physicians, including Doctors Paine, Draper, Griscom, Baker, Squard, Anderson, Stewart, Gardner, Taylor, Wood, Delafield, Beales, Hammond, and Greene, some of whom are our personal friends; for one of them we entertain the most complete contempt.



These sketches have already appeared in *The (Phila.) Medical and Surgical Reporter*; and, although the author has gained the literary martyr's crown for writing them, we have no doubt of their usefulness, as memorials of the notable men of this notable age.\*

The little volume is printed on heavy paper; and is a very neat affair.

26.—The Sayings of Dr. Bushwhacker and other Learned Men. By Fred. S. Cozzens. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. [il.] 10, 213. Price \$1.50.

A very neatly printed volume of short articles, written for *The Wine Press* and other periodicals; together with a few original articles now first introduced to the public. They are from the well-known pens of the author of *The Sparrowgrass Papers*, M. Paul Dinot, Professor Walcott Gibbs, Charles G. and Henry P. Leland, Colonel Peter A. Porter, and Gulian C. Verplanck; and they are dedicated to the last named gentleman, the honored and venerable friend of the editor.

The articles themselves are short, sparkling, and interesting; and these good qualities added to the attractive style in which they are presented, will secure for them a host of gratified readers.

27.—The Poetical Works of John Greanleaf Whittier. Complete edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. 16mo. pp. xi., 40.

The taste of Ticknor & Fields, and the mechanical ability of Welch, Bigelow & Co., have been united in the production of this exquisite little gem—one of the Diamond Edition of the Poets, now passing through the hands of the enterprising house whose imprint it bears.

So long and so widely have the verses of the Quaker Poet been known to his countrymen, and so generally elsewhere than in the United States have their merits been recognized, that our readers need be told nothing concerning them: concerning the collection, we can only say that it evidently contains all that the author now recognizes as his works; and as a specimen of book-making it is a very pattern of neatness.

## 2.—ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The following works remain on our table and will be carefully noticed at the earliest possible opportunity:

Life of Timothy Pickering, Vol. I. *Little, Brown & Co.*

SWINTON'S Decisive Battles of the War. *Dick & Fitzgerald.*

Father Tom and the Pope. *A. Simpson & Co.*

MACMILLAN'S Bible Teachings in Nature. *D. Appleton & Co.*

HOLLAND'S Kathrina. *C. Scribner & Co.*

PAULDING'S The Bulls and the Jonathans. *C. Scribner & Co.*

SKEY'S Hysteria. *A. Simpson & Co.*

EILOART'S Curate's Discipline. *Harper & Brothers.*

DRAPER'S Civil War in America. *Harper & Brothers.*

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America. Vol. XIV. *Presbyterian Publishing Committee.*

XLVth Report of the Mercantile Library Association, New York.

Opinion of Corporation Council on Power of Corporation to Issue Tavern Licenses.

CALDWELL'S Anniversary Discourse. *Hammond, Angell & Co.*

HAMMOND'S Opinion in the Johnston Will Case. *Baker, Voorhies & Co.*

Personal Representation Society's Memorial. *A. Simpson & Co.*

Minutes of the General Association of Massachusetts. *Congregational Board of Publication.*

Proceedings of the Meeting held at the Inauguration of the Rutgers Female College. *A. Simpson & Co.*

DEPEYSTER'S Decisive Conflicts. No. I. *Privately printed.*

CCXXIX Anniversary of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. 1867. *Privately printed.*

GENERAL EARLY'S Memoir of the last Year of the War for Independence. *Privately printed.*

JONES'S Indian Bulletin for 1867. *Privately printed.*

The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-La-Warre, Lord Gouverneur and Capitaine General of the Colonie, planted in Virginia. London, 1611. *Privately re-printed.*

WHITNEY'S Language and the Study of Language. *C. Scribner & Co.*

N. Y. Colonial Tracts. No. I. Journal of the Voyage of the Sloop *Mary* from Quebec. *Joel Munsell, Albany, N. Y.*

—No. II. Voyage of George Clarke to America. *Joel Munsell, Albany.*

Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates at Boston, 1780. *Joel Munsell, Albany.*

Memorial Volume of the Semi-centennial Anniversary of Hartwick Seminary. *Joel Munsell, Albany.*

SCOTT'S Early New England Marriage Dower. *Privately printed.*

BEECHER'S Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit. *C. Scribner & Co.*

STEVENS'S Records of the Chamber of Commerce. *The Author.*

NEILL'S Terra Mariæ. *J. B. Lippincot & Co.*



LORD's Old Roman World. *C. Scribner & Co.*

JONES's History of the Church of God. *The Same.*

STILES's History of Brooklyn. *The Author.*

GUIZOT's Meditations on Christianity. *C. Scribner & Co.*

Slave Songs of the United States. *A. Simpson & Co.*

PAULDING's Tales of the Good Woman. *C. Scribner & Co.*

### 3.—MISCELLANY.

SCRAPS.—*The Pall Mall Gazette* says that in the library of the House of Lords, the original copy of the *Sealed Book of Common Prayer*, which has been so long missing, has been discovered. It is found in the manuscript that the bishops had ordered that the Communion Tables should stand at the east end of the chancel, and that the celebrant should stand eastward; but they subsequently erased the rubrics.

—The *New York Times* and a Western paper agree that Mr. Bancroft "would have greatly improved his style by five years' drill on a first-class newspaper."

—A spelling-book, published in 1790, was recently put up at an auction sale in Washington, and, reaching the sum of \$25, was bid in by the auctioneers and presented to the Oldest Inhabitants Association. The same firm also presented to the above-named society a dinner plate made about the year 1800, on which is a figure of Washington surrounded by guns and flags.

—We recently had the pleasure of examining the manuscript of the *History of Augusta*, upon which Hon. James W. North, of this city, has for many years been engaged, and which will probably be published another Spring. The work, so far as completed, makes about 1500 large manuscript pages, closely written, and, when finished, the number will probably reach nearly two thousand. It commences about the year 1600, is to be brought down to the present time, and the amount of labor bestowed upon the collection and arranging of the great mass of facts presented in the work, can only be realized by those who have been engaged in similar undertakings. No fact of interest relating to the history and progress of our city has been omitted, while many portions are treated with considerable elaboration and fullness. The biographical sketches will form an important division of the work, and its genealogical registers, which are very full and comprise records of many of the old families, will not be the least

interesting portion of the work. When issued, we understand it will be illustrated to some extent, with views of scenery, buildings, portraits, &c., and will form a most important addition to our State history.—*Maine Farmer.*

REVIVAL OF "PUTNAM'S MAGAZINE."—On the first of January next, Mr. George P. Putnam will revive *Putnam's Magazine*. It is announced that the plan of the new magazine will generally resemble that of its prototype, with the addition of new features, and that "it will aim at a broad and generous nationality, and an enlightened pursuit of all topics, whether of politics, society, art, science or literature; while no effort will be spared to present in its pages, in every variety, the productions of the most accomplished authors of the day." The high reputation of the old magazine is the best introduction for the new one.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

—General William Schoulers *History of Massachusetts in the Rebellion* is passing through the press and will shortly be given to the public. Few have had the opportunities of Gen. Shouler, whether as regards his official position as Adjutant-General of Massachusetts during the war, or his intimate relations with prominent men, to acquire a minute and accurate view of the tremendous struggle now happily ended; and his ripe experience as a journalist and author well qualifies him to put in judicious and attractive shape the materials thus collected.

—Charles Sumner, in his *Prophetic Voices About America*, published in a recent issue of the *Atlantic*, quotes from Seneca as saying "the sea will disclose new worlds."

Dr. Hedge, in a note to the *Boston Transcript*, convicts Mr. Sumner of confounding Seneca, the philosopher, and Seneca, the tragedian, and of misquoting and misrendering his lines. The whole passages, as written by the old poet, literally translated, read thus: "In late years there will come ages in which the ocean shall unloose the band of things, and the great earth shall lie exposed, and Typhus shall discover new worlds, nor shall there be an uttermost Thule for the lands." Hedge well remarks, "That the passage should ever have been considered as prophesying anything so specific as the discovery of America, is a literary wonder. Taken in its context, it seems to be mere poetic rhapsody, suggested by the new activity of maritime adventure, in the time of the author." Mr. Sumner is probably indebted to Bacon for the idea of the prophetic import of the passage, and his use of it illustrates the value of the second-hand scholarship of which we have so much.